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THE
HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

Guy Carleton Lee, Ph. D.

of

Johns Hopkins and Columbian Universities, Editor

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BLACK HAWK

MA-KA-TAI-SHE-KIA-KIAK

(Black Sparrow-hawk)

*Photogravure from the original painting from life by R. M.
Sully, now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.*

THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA
VOLUME TWO *THE INDIANS OF NORTH
AMERICA IN HISTORIC TIMES*

BY

CYRUS THOMAS, PH. D.

ARCHÆOLOGIST IN THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

Author of: Study of the Manuscript Troano; Notes on Certain Maya and Mexican Manuscripts; The Cherokees and Shawnees in Pre-Columbian Times; Numerical Systems of the Mexican and Central American Tribes; The Mayan Calendar Systems, etc., etc.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS volume, the second in THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA, is of peculiar value in that it is the only work upon its subject which furnishes a comprehensive view of the history of the Indians of North America from the year in which Christopher Columbus greeted the aborigines of the islands of the Caribbean Sea down to the present date. The importance of the present volume is enhanced by the method of treatment followed by the author. He has written the history of the Indians as it stands apart from that of the white race. He has scrupulously noted all points of contact and every phase of relation between the races, but has always considered the Indians in their racial individuality and not as one of the components of a mixed population.

The author's narrative is not only a compendious account of the history of the Indians of North America within the period to which this volume is devoted, but one that is free from the coloring that has, too often, been given to the subject by general histories, and is at the same time devoid of the narrowness of treatment that necessary spatial and subjective limitations have given to monographic studies.

The author, Cyrus Thomas, Ph. D., Ethnologist to the United States Government, is peculiarly fitted to write upon Indians. He has given more than fifty years of his life to the study of American ethnology and archæology, and from the vantage point of experience can look back upon a vista of Indian history that extends for more than

threescore years. The essence of the product of his life of research is embodied in the present volume, in the preparation of which the distinguished author has been enthusiastically aided by his associates in the United States Bureau of American Ethnology, with the result that *The Indians of North America in Historic Times* embodies the latest, as it does the fullest, information upon its subject.

The illustrations of the volume have, equally with the text, been the subject of solicitous care; and they have been prepared, under the direct supervision of the editor and the author, in greater part by De Lancey Gill, staff artist of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The ethnological maps, which are a feature of the volume, are meritorious, and have been drawn for this work under the personal direction of Dr. Thomas.

The field of this volume is exceedingly attractive. The author has been stimulated to his best efforts by the knowledge that the history of the Indians of this continent has never been satisfactorily told. The interest of the reader is won and held by the novelty—and it may be the romance—of the subject. Centuries had waned before the ships of Columbus breasted the waves that for æons had barred from Europeans the shores of the great continents which by unhappy accident have been named for one who had small part in their discovery or exploration; centuries had elapsed before the reckless valor of the *Conquistadores* subjected the civilization of the ancient races of the New World and despatched to the Iberian peninsula fleets of mighty galleons laden with treasures by which the crowns of Castile and Aragon were regilded and Spain given a new place among nations; centuries, too, had vanished before the French strove to form in the New World the empire that they almost won, but which was wrested from them by the Teutonic conglomerate that we call the Anglo-Saxon race; centuries by the tens, and perhaps hundreds, had passed over the country that stretched from the frozen shores of the Arctic to where the Gulfs of Darien and

Panama chafe at the barriers that prevent the commingling of their waters; and during all this lapse of years, unknown to the dwellers of the eastern continents, billions of men lived and died in what we now call North America. These inhabitants formed nations and tribes; these differed among themselves as they were affected by habitat, environment, and circumstance. To the extreme North were the ice roamers; to the East and Middle North the forest dwellers; to the West the plain wanderers and the mountain tribes; and on the shores of the Pacific the fish eaters and canoe paddlers.

All these left few traces of their prehistoric life. For evidences of the earliest history we must turn to the Southwest and the South, and there we find memorials of a civilization that won even the admiration of those who overthrew it. From the remains of the Southern civilization the historian is able to construct a narrative which, though broken in sequence, still presents an informing view of the Indian history that preceded the landing of the Genoese: a landing that forms the natural line of demarcation by which the history of the Indians of North America is segregated into two grand divisions, the first of which antedates the arrival of Columbus, and the second stretches from his landfall until the present day. To each of these divisions of Indian history a separate volume has been devoted in *THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA*. One of the volumes, yet to issue, is to treat of the Indians in the earliest years to which their history is traceable, and the other, the present volume, is concerned with Indians in historic times.

It has been said that the Indians of North America have no history prior to the coming of the white man; be that as it may, it is certain that since that coming the history of the Indians has been such as to make it of vital importance in the study of the development of the North American people. A realization of this importance has inspired the author throughout his work. But he has never allowed

enthusiasm to override judgment. We find in the volume little sentiment and less imagination. The Indian is not pictured as he has been too often by enthusiastic poets and romancists; neither is he set forth as he has been by traducers and vilifiers. He is the Indian as he is, not as he might be.

The difficulty of adherence to strict impartiality has, from the nature of the subject, been great, but Dr. Thomas has successfully accomplished it. We find that he has judicially and in a well-nigh austere style given to the world a volume that is as correct as it is succinct—a volume that will for long remain the authoritative history of the Indians of North America in historic times.

GUY CARLETON LEE.

Johns Hopkins University.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It is an inevitable consequence of the increase of population and of human progress that civilization and savagery must come in contact; and as the higher culture is the stronger in the process of evolution, its customs and activities must survive as the fitter. The close of the prehistoric age and the beginning of the historic were abrupt and sharply defined. The veil which shut out from the Old World the knowledge of the New is suddenly taken away and a new race revealed. There is no dovetailing here, as in the Old World, of the historic into the prehistoric era. Omitting from consideration the appearance of the Norsemen on the northeast coast, which left no impress, the landing of Columbus on the island of Guanahani, on Friday, the 12th of October, 1492, is the point in time through which the line between the two eras runs. The history of America has no dawn—it bursts upon the world as the risen sun.

It is at this time and place that the history of the natives of America begins. Taking this as our starting point, the first historical document referred to is the first letter written by the great discoverer after this noted event, and the geographical plan followed has been somewhat in the order of colonization or attempted occupancy. This, after passing from the islands, required us to begin on the continent with Panama and move thence northward, following the Atlantic coast after leaving Mexico. Although the method of treatment has been largely by geographical districts, yet when

possible an effort has been made where a tribe or group has been taken up to follow it to the conclusion. This course has been thought advisable for the following reason. The object in view has been to write a history of the Indians of North America in historic times, which should present an accurate general account of the aboriginal race within the limits prescribed. With the entrance of the white race into the New World began the struggle between the races. To follow up this struggle and find the result, to trace the waxing of the one and the waning of the other, is one primary object of such a history, and it has been our constant endeavor to keep this in view. But the contest between the races is not the sum of Indian history; moreover, this might be, and to a large extent has been, written from the side of the white race.

As the customs and government of a people are important factors in their history, these have been introduced to the extent consistent in a general and comprehensive history; but this has been done more especially in regard to the northern tribes.

It was not until in very recent years that the importance of studying the history, habits, arts, etc., of the aborigines of America was fully appreciated. Not only is this important in working out the problems of history, philology, sociology, and anthropology generally, but as to the bearing it has had in bringing about the present political, social, and other conditions in the nationalities of the American continent. There are perhaps comparatively few persons who have carefully followed up the thought: What would have been the course and length of time consumed in colonizing the New World had it been uninhabited at the time of the discovery? Whatever the difference would have been on that supposition from what did occur must be attributed to the native population. Native influence has affected every government on our continent, and left an impress upon its political machinery and its institutions. It has also been felt in some degree even in matters of daily life; as in the

introduction of certain food items and their names, now in constant use. The map of North America is dotted over with Indian names; the statute books and legislative records of the colonies and governments are heavily sprinkled with items relating to the Indians. Nor have they disappeared from the continent, but are largely in evidence in almost every section except the eastern half of the United States, and form the basis of population in many sections.

It is therefore unnecessary to offer any apology for presenting this volume to the public; the HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA would be incomplete without it or an equivalent. The variation from the usual method followed consists in bringing the Indian history together in narrative form, with such accompanying comments as seem desirable, instead of scattering it through the national history, as written from the standpoint of the white race; and also in considering the Indians, to a considerable extent, by tribes, groups, and stocks. For the purpose of reference, alphabetic lists of the various stocks and of the tribes, in part, have been given in Appendices at the end of the volume.

Thanks are due to Professor McGee, sometime of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology, for much aid cheerfully given in the preparation of this volume.

CYRUS THOMAS.

Washington, D. C.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGES
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	v-viii
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	ix-xi

I ABORIGINES OF THE WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICA 3-27

Columbus and the natives of the Antilles. Ethnic boundary between North and South America. The Panama tribes and Spanish invasion. The tribes of Nicaragua. Spanish cruelties. The civilized tribes of Guatemala. Alvarado's war on the natives. The Cakchikels and Kiches. Torture and butchery. The friars pacify the Indians. Conquest of the Itzas by Ursua. The Indians of Chiapas proffer allegiance; rebel; conquered by the Spaniards. The Tzental rebellion in 1712. Indian population. Intermixture of races. Industrial condition.

II TRIBES OF MEXICO 29-51

The native stocks. The civilized and wild tribes. The tribes encountered and conquered by Cortés: Totonac, Tlascalan, Aztec; fierce battles with the natives. Aztec civilization. Montezuma. Conquest of Zapotecapan and Miztecapan. Nuño de Guzman's expeditions of blood and rapine. Natives of Yucatan. Conquest by Montejo. Indians of Nochistlan defeat Alvarado. Pueblo Indians of New Mexico; conquered by the Spaniards; their revolts. Spain's Indian policy as set forth in her laws and ordinances. The freedom of Indian slaves enforced.

CHAPTER

PAGES

III THE INDIANS OF FLORIDA AND THE EASTERN GULF STATES 53-68

Florida the goal of adventurers. The Apalaches; their province; their ethnic position; their renown and their history. The French attempt at colonization. Saturiwa; he aids the French. Outina courted by Laudonnière. Tribal organization of the Timuquanan stock not definite, chiefly confederate groups. The principal head chiefs. The names of chiefs applied to towns and provinces. The Tequesta. The Calusa. "Ais Indians." The province under Menendez. The priests pacify the Indians. Customs of the Florida Indians. The Timuquanan languages indicate a distinct stock. The Seminoles; the Seminole war. The Yamacraws and Tomochichi. The Uchees visited by De Soto; their territory; remove to Chattahoochee River.

IV THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC COLONIES. (I) VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND . . 69-90

Raleigh's colony and the Indians of Albemarle Sound. Indian stocks represented in Virginia. The Indians and the settlers of Jamestown. Smith captured by the Indians; saved by Pocahontas. Powhatan. Opechancanough; he plans and carries out the massacre of 1622. English attack on the Indian settlements, 1624. Indians suddenly attack the English settlements, 1644. Capture and death of Opechancanough. Acts of Assembly assigning certain lands to Necotowance and his people, and regarding the sale and purchase of Indian lands. Bacon defeats the Indians. The Richahecrians [Cherokees] invade the colony. Manahoac and Monacan tribes. The Nottoway and Meherrin Indians. Virginia's Indian policy. The Powhatan confederacy. The whites arrive in Maryland; first meeting with the Indians. Relations of the Indians and Maryland colonists. Act of the Assembly of 1638. Opechancanough's plotting causes discontent among the Maryland tribes. Nanticokes and Wicomicos in open hostility. The proprietor sets apart lands for the small tribes. Laws of Maryland relating to Indian lands.

V THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC COLONIES. (II) THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA . 91-107

The groups and tribes of the Carolinas. Relation of the Tutelo to the Siouan stock. The minor tribes; lack of union; harassed by the Iroquois; final dispersion. Indian

CHAPTER	PAGES
enslavement by South Carolina. History of the Catawbas. The Tuscaroras make war; their departure to the north. The Yamasis rebel; their destruction. The Cherokees; first notice of, 1540; first official mention, 1693; Governor Nicholson makes treaty with them; they commence hostilities, 1761; Colonel Grant defeats them; peace made; again commence hostilities, 1776; troops from South and North Carolina and Virginia destroy their towns; treaty made, May 20, 1777. Policy of the Carolinas regarding purchases of Indian lands. The Georgia policy.	

VI THE INDIANS OF NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA 109-130

Peaceful relations of the Indians and the New Jersey colonists. Chief Wilted Grass. Delawares' tradition of their migrations; bark record of. Divisions of the Delawares. The Indians of New Jersey. Delawares made "women." William Penn's policy. Dispute with the Indians regarding deeds. War with the Delawares regarding land purchases. Tedyuscung, the great Delaware chief; conference at Easton [1757] and peace treaty; the diplomacy of Tedyuscung. The massacre at Wyoming. The Delawares in Pontiac's war. Migration of the Indians to the west. Government and customs of the Delawares. The Susquehanna Indians. The acts of Pennsylvania in regard to Indian lands and rights.

VII THE INDIANS OF NEW YORK 131-154

Verrazano's visit to New York Bay. Henry Hudson's visit. The Indians of Long Island: the "Manhattans"; the Montauks. The massacre of the Indians at Pavonia. The tribes on Hudson River. The Wappingers; their massacre by the colonists, near Stamford. The Mohegans. The Iroquois; their alliance with the Dutch; decide in 1744 to remain neutral between the French and English. Senecas, Onondagas, and Cayugas in 1757 side with the French. Senecas join in Pontiac's conspiracy. Iroquois divided in their allegiance during the Revolutionary War. Joseph Brant appears as a leader against the Americans; the battle of Oriskany; Brant and the war on the "Old New York Frontier"; General Sullivan's expedition; the Indians retire to Niagara; Mohawks remove to Canada.

CHAPTER

PAGES

VIII . THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND . . . 155-179

The three dominant tribes. Tisquantum. Massasoit ; his treaty with the Plymouth settlers. Corbitant's uprising. Conspiracy of Massachusetts chiefs. Land titles of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies. Attack of Narragansetts upon Massasoit. Disputed ground. Pequods and Mohegans ; Uncas rebels against Sassacus. Connecticut discovered by Dutch ; trading post established. Wopigwooit killed by Dutch. Sassacus offers Connecticut to English. Murder of Stone and Norton. Expedition to Block Island. Narragansetts decline to join Pequods against English. Miantonomah makes treaty with English. Depredations of the Pequods ; colonists, Mohegans, and Narragansetts combine against Pequods ; burning of Sassacus's fortress ; swamp fight ; fate of Sassacus ; division of Pequot prisoners. Beginning of trouble between Uncas and Miantonomah ; dispute at Hartford ; the Narragansetts. Uncas prosperous. Miantonomah summoned to Boston ; makes war upon Uncas and is defeated ; his death. English come into contact with tribes west of Connecticut River. History of those tribes.

IX THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND—(CONTINUED) . . . 181-209

Tyranny of Uncas. Mohegan history continued ; seventy years' lawsuit. Pequot history continued. Alexander. Wetamoo. Philip becomes chief ; makes secret preparations for war ; called to Taunton. Praying Indians. Murder of Sassamon. Raid upon Swansey. Awashonks. Burning of Dartmouth Village. Fight in Pocasset Swamp. Ambush at Wickaboag Pond. Brookfield besieged. Narragansetts aid Philip. Great "Swamp Fight." Burning of Philip's fort. Mrs. Rowlandson. King Philip's defiance. Capture of Canonchet. Philip's ruse ; decline of his fortunes ; his death. The Abnakis ; their tribal divisions ; Baron de Saint-Castine. Abnakis make war upon the settlers of Maine and New Hampshire ; treaty of peace ; hostilities recommenced ; another treaty made ; ten years' war begun ; treaty of Falmouth. Subsequent history of the various Maine tribes.

X THE INDIANS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE . . 211-236

The stocks and tribes of the St. Lawrence and lower lake region. Early history of the Iroquois. Arrival of Champlain on the scene ; his first expedition ; his second expedition.

CHAPTER	PAGES
The Iroquois ; their craft and treachery ; they drive away the Weanohronons ; attack Three Rivers ; war upon the Hurons ; defeat and disperse them ; destroy the Neuter nation ; result of their wars ; send [1653] proposition for peace to the French ; exterminate the Eries, and begin war upon the Susquehannas. De Courcelle marches into the Mohawk country. Denonville's expedition against the Seneca towns. The Iroquois renew hostilities. Frontenac destroys Onondaga and Oneida villages [1696]. Iroquois government and customs. The Beothuks. The Micmacs. The Malecites. The Montagnais. The Nascapees. The Nepissings.	

XI THE INDIAN HISTORY OF THE OHIO VALLEY ;
OR, THE BORDER WARS 237-260

Ohio inhabited by no native tribes in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Cherokees early occupants of the upper Ohio valley. Troubles between the French and English. Disastrous effects of Braddock's defeat. The struggle for Fort Du Quesne ; captured by General Forbes. Indian population north of the Ohio. Pontiac lays his plot and notifies the tribes ; Detroit the first point of attack ; plot to gain the fort discovered ; the war begins ; the fort besieged ; relief arrives ; siege abandoned ; the siege and gallant defence of Fort Pitt ; Bouquet marches to its relief ; battle of Bushy Run ; the great council at Niagara ; treaty of peace ; death of Pontiac.

XII THE SHAWNEES AND THE MIAMIS 261-282

The Shawnees previous to settlement on the Scioto ; date of removal to the Scioto ; early tradition given by Perrot ; early expedition of the Iroquois against the tribe ; notices of, by Marquette ; actual location on the Cumberland ascertained by the French ; at war with the Iroquois ; defeated by the Cherokees and Chickasaws ; subdued by Bouquet ; Dunmore's war. Massacre of the Gnadenhütten Indians. Death of Crawford. Tecumseh's war ; battle of Tippecanoe ; death of Tecumseh. The Miamis.

XIII THE INDIANS OF THE OLD NORTHWEST . 283-304

The territory defined. The tribes embraced. First appearance of the French in this region. Council at Chequamegon. Saint-Lusson takes formal possession. The Winnebagoes ; their history ; their removals. The Chippewas ; their

CHAPTER

PAGES

traditions ; first item of their history ; unite with the Sioux [1695] in an attack on the Foxes ; at war with the Sioux, the latter being pushed westward ; their last great battle with the Foxes ; their reservations and population. The Potawatomies ; their division into bands. The Foxes enemies of the French ; they join the Ottawas and Hurons in an expedition against the Sioux. The Sauks ; they incorporate the Foxes. Black Hawk ; the treaty of 1804 ; the commencement of the Black Hawk war ; the Indians defeated ; Black Hawk delivers himself to the United States authorities ; peace restored. The Illinois tribes ; their brief history ; their destruction by other tribes.

XIV INDIANS OF ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, AND WESTERN GEORGIA 305-324

The Indian tribes of these states. The Muskogean divisions and tribes. The Creeks ; their migration legend ; wars with surrounding tribes. The Alibamus. The Tuskegees. Governor Oglethorpe treats with the Creeks. Alexander McGillivray. Creeks hostile during the Revolutionary War ; make war on the white settlements. Weatherford ; the Fort Mimms massacre. General Jackson defeats the Creeks and compels them to sue for peace. The Alibamu tribe. The Seminoles of Florida ; the Seminole war. The Choctaws ; their two divisions. The Chickasaws ; inveterate enemies of the French ; the French twice attack them in vain. The Mobilians and Tehomes. The Houmas. The Natches Indians ; friendly to the French for first thirty years of intercourse ; they massacre the French settlers ; are destroyed as a tribe by the French ; their customs and their temple.

XV THE SIOUX AND TRIBES OF THE PLAINS . 325-345

The Sioux ; their habitat ; tribal divisions. The Dakota group ; early notice of ; adhere to the English in 1812 ; the outbreak of 1862 ; treaty of 1867 ; Sitting Bull ; destruction of Custer's troop ; uprising of 1890-1891 ; character of the Sioux. The Assiniboins. The Mandans ; their traditions ; their migrations. The Minnitarees. The Arikaras. The southern Siouan tribes ; their traditional origin and migrations. The Iowas. The Otoes. The Ponkas. The Omahas. The migrations of these tribes. The Osages. The Quapaws ; their early and traditional history. The Arapahoes and Cheyennes.

CHAPTER

PAGES

XVI TRIBES OF THE FAR NORTHWEST . . . 347-362

The two primary ethnic divisions of North America. The Crees; their various names and territorial limits; their pristine home; essentially a woods people. The Plains Crees; their history uneventful. The Maskegons, or "Swampy Crees." The Monsoni, or "Moose" Indians. The Black-foot Indians; their former country; their movement southward. The Athapascans; their geographical extension. The tribes of the northern group; their history relates chiefly to their petty strifes with other tribes, and dealings with the Hudson's Bay Company. The form of government. Selection of chiefs. The Kutchins. The Sarcees. The Eskimo; the long coast line occupied by them.

XVII THE SHOSHONES AND OTHER ROCKY MOUNTAIN TRIBES . . . 363-379

The Shoshonean family; the principal tribes of which it is composed. "Digger Indians." Shoshones proper; their chief seat. The Bannocks. The Utes; their geographical limits; their divisions. The Paiutes. The Paviotsos. History of the Shoshones; the relations of the different groups with the whites; intimate with the Mormons; only once in conflict with them; Shoshonean depredations; General Crook quells these disturbances. The Modoc war. War with the White River Utes. Treaties. Characteristics and customs of the Shoshones and the Bannocks. The Comanches. The Apaches. The Navajos.

XVIII THE INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST . . . 381-398

The Northwest coast furnishes no important historical episodes. The numerous tribes of this section. Theories regarding them. Northern Californians superior to central and southern tribes. Californians not a martial race. Differences between the tribes north and south of Mount Shasta. Dwellings. First knowledge of them. The Spanish missions; cruelty of the priests. California settlers and the Indians. Indian population. Natives of Oregon. Tribes of the lower Columbia; their physical characteristics and customs. Tribes between Columbia River and Cape Flattery. Tribes about Millbank Sound. Flatheads, or Salish Indians. Walla Wallas. Klikitats. Cannibalism. Hudson's Bay Company. The three northern groups: Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian; physical characteristics. Totemism. Haida villages. Elevated houses. Mortuary customs.

CHAPTER

PAGES

XIX THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES 399-413

Policy and treatment distinct. Indian title not considered in contests between foreign powers. Discovery the basis of claim to territory ; decision of Supreme Court on this point. The nature of the Indian title to the land. Right of regulating trade with the Indians first given to Congress. Indians' right of occupancy. Extinguishment of Indian right by treaty. Further treaties with Indians prohibited by act of March 3, 1871. Methods of establishing reservations. Allotment of lands to Indians. Treatment of Indians by government agents.

XX THE INDIANS AS A RACE AND AS A FACTOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY 415-432

Caution against theory. Classification of American aborigines. Two races or divisions. Indian superior to the white man in few if any respects. Physical differences. Mental capacity. Children in many respects. Feminine physiognomy of the males. Highest mental attainment. In the Stone Age at the discovery. Social organization. Government. Morgan's view of Aztec organization erroneous. Classification by language. Geographical distribution of stocks. Religion. Sun worship. Moral character. A factor in American history. Accelerated discovery. Led to the discovery of gold mines. Brought into use important plants. Marked lines of travel.

APPENDIX I 433-440

List of linguistic families and tribal languages of Mexico and Central America.

APPENDIX II 441-443

List of Indian stocks north of Mexico.

APPENDIX III 445-450

List of Indian reservations in the United States in 1902, and the number of acres contained in each.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE 451-458

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS 459-464

*THE INDIANS OF
NORTH AMERICA IN HISTORIC
TIMES*

THOMAS

CHAPTER I

ABORIGINES OF THE WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICA

OUR history begins with the landing of Columbus on the island of Guanahani, where the first sight of natives of the New World was obtained. It is probable that the Genoese admiral was not greatly surprised at the sight of these tawny natives. He had embarked from Spain inspired with the belief that by sailing westward across the Atlantic the first land encountered would be the East Indies; hence, when he reached land, he believed he had arrived at the islands of the Asiatic coast, and that it was but a short distance to Cathay, the China of Marco Polo.

Columbus, though he knew it not, was now in a New World; the scenery he beheld was new, and the inhabitants who received him with joyful surprise were people of a hitherto unknown race. That we may learn the impression made upon his mind, we will draw our information from his description as given in what appears to have been his first letter, dated February 15, 1493, written to Luis de Sant'Angel. He states in this that, although he [had so far] found the islands to be well peopled, he met with only small hamlets along the coast. Two of his men, sent into the interior to learn if there were a king or any great cities, returned after three days' travel and reported that they had found many small villages and a numerous population, but no ruling authority. He then remarks that the people "all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them

forth, though some women cover one part with a leaf of a plant, or a cotton something [pad or little apron] which they make for that purpose. They have no iron or steel, nor any weapons; nor are they fit thereunto; not because they are not a well-formed people and of fair stature, but that they are most wondrously timorous." No other weapons are mentioned than reed stems, in the ends of which were fixed "little sharpened stakes." They are described as "artless and generous with what they have," giving freely to the Spaniards what they had need of. With the exception to be noted, he found the people of the various islands to be very similar in appearance, manners, and language; all these, he says, "understand each other." The men appeared to be content with one wife, except the chief, who was allowed a plurality. He describes the people as comely, "not black like those in Guinea, but have flowing hair."

The people thus described, as is known from information since obtained, belonged to the Arawakan stock, which is still represented in South America. Of the other class he speaks as follows: "I have not found nor had any information of monsters, except of an island which is here the second in approach to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people, whom in all the islands they regard as very ferocious, who eat human flesh. These have many canoes with which they run through all the islands of India, and plunder and take as much as they can." They were evidently Caribs who, pushing out from the mainland of South America, as the Arawaks had probably done long before, had planted here a colony.

It seems from his statements that cotton was actually cultivated, though no mention is made of fabrics manufactured from it, except the little aprons worn by the women, which are not known to have been woven.

In another place, speaking of the people of a neighboring island, he says they were more domestic and tractable than those of San Salvador, and also more intelligent, as he judged from their way of reckoning for the payment of cotton

purchased from them. When he reached what is now Nuevitas del Principe, in Cuba, he learned from some men whom he had sent into the interior to reconnoitre that the houses of the natives at this point were the best they had seen. "They were made like alfaneques [pavilions], very large, and appeared as royal tents without arrangement of streets, except one here and there; and within they were very clean and well swept and their furniture well arranged. All these houses were made of palm branches and very beautiful. . . . Our men found in these houses many statues of women and several heads fashioned like masks and well made. I do not know whether they have these for their beauty or as objects of worship."—(*Navarette Col.*, i, 42.)

Other things mentioned as found among them were nets, fishhooks, and fishing tackle. Tame birds were also noticed about their houses, and dogs which did not bark. Another discovery, mention of which must not be omitted, was the use of tobacco by smoking.

The appearance of the white-visaged strangers in their curious craft was a complete surprise to the simple natives, who looked upon them as visitants from the sky. They proclaimed them, according to the Admiral's statement, as "people from heaven," a belief, however, soon to be changed to one widely different.

There is yet another side to this first intercourse between the two races which was fraught with momentous consequences to the natives, and destined, almost before the first surprise had vanished, to cause a complete reversal of sentiment and a change of relations. In his first letter, from which the above quotation is made, Columbus uses the following language:

And in conclusion, to speak only of what has been done in this voyage, which has been so hastily performed, their Highnesses may see that I shall give them as much gold as they may need, with very little aid which their Highnesses will give me; spices and cotton at once, as much as their Highnesses will order to be shipped, and as much as they

shall order to be shipped of mastic,—which till now has never been found except in Greece, in the island of Xio [Scio], and the Seignory sells it for what it likes ; and aloe wood as much as they shall order to be shipped ; and *slaves as many as they shall order to be shipped,—and these shall be from idolaters.*

Unfortunately, history compels us to state that it was the great discoverer who introduced into America the traffic in human flesh, the dark blot on civilization scarcely yet effaced. He even went so far as to assert that the true riches of the Indies were the Indians themselves. The result foreshadowed in these declarations was soon to be fully realized. In 1495, he sent home five hundred Indians from his own captures, to be sold as slaves in the Seville market ; and in the same year Bartholomew Columbus sent three hundred more to Cadiz. The traffic grew apace ; so rapidly, indeed, that when De Ayllon's first expedition [1520] touched at the Lucayan Islands they were found already depopulated, and the slave-hunting crews passed on to the mainland in search of captives, determined not to return with empty vessels. It is no wonder then that the natives soon learned to look upon the strangers whom they at first regarded as visitants from the sky as coming from the abode of evil spirits.

Turning now to the mainland and taking the countries somewhat in the order of discovery and settlement, we begin with the natives of the various provinces of Central America, proceeding from the southern extremity northward.

The aborigines of Central America, if considered ethnically, would be divided into two comprehensive groups—those whose linguistic and other characteristics indicate southern affinities, and those which belong, by their language, customs, and characteristics, to the northern continent. Although the northern continent extends geographically to Isthmus of Panama,—or, strictly speaking, to Gulf of Uraba, or Darien,—ethnically the dividing line between the two continents corresponds more nearly with the southern boundary of Nicaragua—or possibly includes in the southern group

the tribes of eastern Nicaragua and northern Honduras, judging by the linguistic data.

The tribes inhabiting Veragua and Costa Rica, except the peninsula of Nicoya, at the time of the Spanish conquest belonged linguistically to the great Chibchan stock of Colombia. The Panama district, or region between Chagres River and Gulf of Uraba was occupied chiefly by the Cuna Indians—known under such various names as Darien Indians, Cunacunas, Cuevas, Coybas, Chucunacos, Bayanos, Tules, San Blas Indians, etc. (See 28, Map A, Part I.)

It was in this region, and the adjoining section of South America immediately to the east, that the first attempts were made by the Spaniards to plant colonies on the mainland of the New World. That area in the Panama section, then known as "Castilla del Oro" [The Golden Castile], was under the generalship of Diego de Nicuesa, who located first in the country of the Cuna [Cueva].

The miserable failure and pitiful death of Nicuesa must be passed without further notice. The successful march to the South Sea and conquest of the Indian villages along the route by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who had married the daughter of Careta, the cacique of Cueva, though attended with some unnecessary cruelty, forms the cleanest page of the early history of Castilla del Oro.

The next to come upon the scene as commander was Pedrarias. The Indian history of Panama during his administration might be written in three words—blood, torture, slavery. His journeys through the Isthmus were marked with blood and fire. Gold and slaves were the only products of the country which the invaders sought. The Indians who were not carried off as slaves abandoned their fields and homes and fled to the rugged sierras, whence they constantly annoyed the whites, waylaying the roads and lines of travel. Starvation was their chief ally against their cruel foes; the Spaniards, crazed with the thirst for gold, neglected the tillage of the soil, and, the fields of the

natives having been destroyed, famine thinned their ranks more than did their conflicts with the Indians.

By the close of the sixteenth century the influence of the friars in lessening the cruelty of the rulers began to be felt, and many of the Indians were brought into peaceful relations with the whites. In 1726, numbers of them joined the Panama government in its fight with the French filibusters. Nevertheless, many maintained their hostile attitude, and, although the Isthmus was the seat of the first Spanish settlement on the American continent, the natives of Darien were never completely subdued, and the tribe is not yet extinct.

Passing to the west of Chagres River we enter that division of Panama known as Veragua, which extends to Chiriqui Lagoon and the southeastern boundary of Costa Rica. The natives of this district at the time of the Spanish advent consisted of a number of small tribes belonging to two different linguistic stocks, both different from those east of Chagres River—one the Doraskean (27, Map A, Part I.), the other the Chibchan (26, Map A, Part I.). The tribes of the first were located chiefly in the southern and eastern part of the district. Those of the latter—some four or five, forming the Guaymie division of the Chibchan family—were located chiefly between Chiriqui Lagoon and the sierra.

The early history of this section consists of little more than the accounts of Spanish raids on the natives in search of gold and slaves. This appears to have been the chief business of Pedrarias and his agents while he was in control as Governor of Panama.

The chief incident in the early history of this section which relates to the Indians is the successful resistance to Spanish invasion maintained for nine years by chief Urraca and his tribe. His home was in the sierra, near the centre of the district, and defended by the natural ruggedness of the mountains. The first expedition against him, under Espinosa and Francisco Pizarro, was defeated in open

battle. The vanguard of Espinosa was cut off to a man, and the remainder of his troop would have shared the same fate but for the bravery of Hernando de Soto, afterward leader of the Florida expedition. Pedrarias in person led a second expedition. After five days' battling he returned to Panama with no better success than had attended the first expedition. For nine years the warfare continued, but the brave old chieftain, who, as we shall see a little further on, aided others in their struggle against the oppressors, had the good fortune to die a natural death, surrounded by his people, instead of being torn to pieces by Spanish bloodhounds.

In 1535, Felipe Gutierrez made a third attempt to colonize Veragua, which ended in failure in a single year. Besides the decimating effect of the climate, the usual Spanish oppression brought on hostilities with the natives. A neighboring cacique [Durura] received the adventurers kindly, entertained them courteously, and placed at their disposal his entire wealth. But this did not satisfy their thirst for gold: the customary cruelties commenced. Durura was made prisoner and threatened with torture and cruel death unless more gold was forthcoming. The wily chief, by a cunning play upon their cupidity, drew the Spanish force into an ambush, and, though killing but eight of their number, he burned their camp, made his escape from their hands, and then with his Indians withdrew to the mountain fastnesses, taking all their provisions with them. The Spaniards were left without food, and many of them died of starvation before reaching the seacoast.

The tribes about Chiriqui Lagoon, having learned the fate of those natives who resisted the invaders, submitted without resistance when Benito Hurtado attempted, in 1525, to establish a colony there. For two years relations were peaceful, but Spanish oppression caused a revolt in which the brave chief Urraca aided the insurgents. A long and bloody war followed, with alternate success. It is probable these were the Indians known afterward as the Valiente, a name indicative of their bravery.

Although the Indians of the sierras had not been entirely subdued, yet by 1541, as we learn from Benzoni, the slave raids and slaughter by the Spaniards had thinned the coast population of Panama and Veragua to such a degree that in many places there were long stretches without a single native inhabitant.

As already stated, the tribes of Costa Rica belonged ethnically to the Chibchan family. The principal ones—including in part the Guaymie already mentioned—were the Guatuso in the northern part of the state, about Rio Frio; the Guetare, extending north and south through the central part of the state; and the Talamanca group, located chiefly along the eastern coast, but extending across the sierra to the southern coast.

Although the southern coast had been visited by Hurtado, it was not until 1544 that an attempt to colonize Costa Rica was made by Gutierrez. Notwithstanding his avowed purpose of treating the natives humanely, the thirst for gold soon overcame his scruples, and the customary Spanish cruelty was adopted, followed, as usual, by hostilities on the part of the Indians. The attempt was a failure and the country was abandoned.

It is not until 1562 that anything further is recorded in regard to the Indians: "It is now two years," wrote the officers at Cartago, "since we entered this province with Juan de Caballon, and it is with the greatest difficulty that we have held out against the rebellious natives, who could not be converted and brought to obedience by peaceful means."

Although the efforts of the Spaniards to subjugate the natives of this province by arms were only partially successful, the attempts at pacification by the Franciscan friars were followed by better results. The labors, especially of Betanzos, who made himself master of twelve languages, and travelled over the entire province accompanied only by a little boy, met with remarkable success. But few conflicts between the natives and European settlers are noted

after 1570; one outbreak of a single village occurred in 1586, and an insurrection of the Talamanca occurred in 1610, in which a number of the settlers on the coast were massacred. Besides their wars with the Spaniards, the tribes of different lineage, unable for the common welfare to suppress their tribal feuds, were usually in a state of petty warfare with one another.

Of the tribes encountered by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century in Costa Rica and the Isthmian provinces, a large number are now extinct, and of the others small remnants only remain. In regard to those of the latter region the information is incomplete. The Doraskean tribes are practically, if not entirely, extinct. The Guetare have long been extinct, their language being entirely lost. A small remnant of the Talamanca group is still found in southern Costa Rica, and a settlement of the Guatuso exists on Rio Frio. The Rama, a tribe of the Doraskean family, formerly occupied the southeastern section of Nicaragua between Blewfield and San Juan. Although once quite numerous, they are now reduced to a single small band residing on a little island in Blewfield Lagoon.

The story, like others which will follow, is a sad one. Spanish cruelty and Spanish oppression had accomplished here the same result as elsewhere; and though we pass now to the more important provinces further north, the history is still one of blood and devastation.

The native population of Nicaragua and Honduras formed, at the time of the Spanish conquest, a heterogeneous group, consisting of a number of different ethnic elements. No less than ten linguistic stocks were here represented, seven of which were wholly included. (See List of Linguistic Families, Appendix I.) Without attempting to account fully for this interesting fact, it may be stated that here was the meeting point of the southern and northern elements, and here, living in close association, were both semi-civilized and savage peoples. Some of the tribes were intrusive elements from distant outside stocks, as the

Niquiran tribes, of the great Nahuatlan family of Mexico; the Dirian, Mangue, and Orotinan tribes, of the Chiapanecan family of Chiapas; and the Carib settlement along the northern coast of Honduras, an offshoot of the great Carib stock of South America.

Extending from western Nicaragua through the central part of Honduras into the southern corner of Guatemala were the Lenca Indians (21, Map A, Part I.). Although these Indians constituted the largest tribe of Nicaragua and Honduras, very little has been recorded in regard to their history; and they are not mentioned by name in Hubert Bancroft's *History of Central America*. An expedition was undertaken by Captain Machuca, in 1548, for the purpose of conquering the natives of Tegucigalpa, who were of Lenca lineage. However, the guides proved treacherous, and the soldiers soon found themselves surrounded by hordes of savages, from whom they at length succeeded with great difficulty in extricating themselves, and retreated to San Juan River, abandoning the attempt.

The most noted Lenca chief, as well as the most noted leader of this part of Central America, was Lempira—a name signifying “Lord of the Mountains.” He had bid defiance to the great Tonatiuh [Alvarado] and was long a terror to the Spanish settlers, as well as to his native enemies. His stronghold in the mountains, named the “Rock of Cerquin,” was in the present department of Gracias. Juan de Chaves, who was left in command by Alvarado, attacked the chief's fortress with all the force he could muster, but failed to capture it. Captain Carceres was then sent by Montejo, who had been made governor of the province, to make another attempt to subdue this defiant savage; but a continuous siege of six months, though with all the force that could be gathered from the surrounding districts, was unavailing. Treachery, however, accomplished that in which open warfare had failed. While pretending to open peace negotiations, Carceres directed a concealed soldier to fire upon Lempira. The artifice succeeded. The Indians,

panic-stricken at the death of their chief, made no further resistance, most of them giving themselves up to the Spaniards. Be it said, however, to the credit of Montejo, who, it seems, was not a party to this treachery, that he ordered the captives released, and by a humane policy induced them, and those who had fled, to return to their homes.

About 1560, Comayagua, which had been planted in the heart of the Lencan territory, became the chief religious centre of Honduras; and in 1589 a convent of the Franciscans was founded at Tegucigalpa, indicating that the Indians were by that time becoming pacified.

The Xicaques, whose territory bordered Tegucigalpa on the north, having disturbed the peace by frequent raids on Olancho Valley, were subdued by Captain Escota in 1661, and a large number of them gathered into settlements in Honduras. Missionaries were introduced, and by 1679 a large portion of them were brought under Christian influence.

Something of the history of northern Honduras, where Truxillo was the seat of government during the early days of Spanish possession, may be inferred from the fact that the chief business of the settlers appears to have been slave capturing. We are informed that the Indians of this section were kidnapped and sold by shiploads among the islands and in Nicaragua; so that in the vicinity of Truxillo, where formerly were native towns with from six hundred to three thousand inhabitants, there were, in 1547, not two hundred Indians left, those not taken having fled to the mountains. At Naco,—possibly in the Chol territory,—which previously contained, as it is said, a population of ten thousand souls, there remained in 1536 only forty-five. The town of La Haga, containing nine hundred houses, had but one inhabitant left, all the rest having been captured and sold into slavery. It is possible that some of these natives belonged to the tribe known as Xicaque.

In the narrow strip of land between Lakes Managua and Nicaragua and the Pacific Ocean, and extending from

Bay of Fonseca to Gulf of Nicoya, were gathered tribes of three different families: one representing the great Nahuatlán or Mexican stock, three the Chiapanecan (17, Map A, Part I.), and one—the Subtiaban (25, Map A, Part I.)—being distinct within itself. The Indian history of this section begins with the visit of Gil Gonzales, who, coasting north, met first with Nicoya, chief of the peninsula in Costa Rica which has received his name. This chief gave the Spaniards a friendly reception and willingly parted with his gold, even to that which had been moulded into idols. On the border of Lake Nicaragua, Gonzales was kindly received by the chief from whom the lake and state have derived their names. If the statements of the early chroniclers are to be accepted, this chieftain was one of the most remarkable savages of his age, a true native philosopher. When Gonzales sent word to him to acknowledge allegiance to the Catholic king and to accept the truths of their religion, or prepare for battle, he replied to the messengers: "Tell those who sent you that I know not their king, and therefore cannot do him homage; that I fear not their sharp swords, but love peace rather than war; gold has little value, they are welcome to what I have. As to the religion they teach, I will talk with them, and if I like it I will adopt it." Gonzales and his accompanying friar, Bobadilla, were hard pressed with questions by this native philosopher. "Did these men come hither from heaven?" he at length inquired. "They came from heaven," was the reply. "But how," continued the chief, "directly downward like an arrow, or riding on a cloud, or in a circuit like the rainbow?" The question remained unanswered.

However, in a few days all was changed. The Spaniards passed on to visit a powerful cacique named Diriangen, who came out in great state to meet them. Five hundred unarmed men came first, each bearing a turkey; after them came ten banner bearers, then followed sixteen women nearly covered with plates of gold; next, five trumpeters; and lastly, the chief men bearing a richly adorned palanquin

in which sat the chief. When asked to acknowledge allegiance to the Spanish king and accept the Catholic faith, he proved less tractable than Nicoya, and asked three days for consideration. Before the three days had expired, the Spaniards were attacked and for a time hard pressed; but the assailants, unable to contend with firearms and cavalry, were at length repelled. The retreat of the Spaniards to their vessels was a continued fight with Nicaragua's warriors, who had suddenly changed to enemies. They quit the country and returned to Panama, leaving the Indians masters of the field.

Nevertheless, the scourge which was to fall upon them was close at hand. Salcedo, Governor of Honduras, was already on his way from Truxillo to Leon, every step of his progress crimsoned by the blood of natives; and Pedrarias, the "Timur of the Indies," was leaving Panama to assume authority in Nicaragua. The history of the country for the next few years, so far as it relates to the natives, can be told in general terms in a few words, as tribal lines were for the time blotted out with blood.

Pedrarias, immediately on his arrival in Nicaragua, despatched Rojas across the country to search for mines and to plant settlements on the eastern coast, as ordered by the king. But the real object of the journey was revealed when the branding iron, intended only for rebels and criminals, was taken from the chest. It was in truth a slave-hunting expedition; the natives were captured indiscriminately, whether peaceful or rebellious, and all who fell into his hands were branded and sent as slaves to Leon. Captives were secured by iron collars around the neck, chained in gangs, and forced to carry heavy burdens. To prevent delay, the heads of those who fell from exhaustion were stricken off and thus released from the collar, that the others might move on. The Leon market was glutted with human chattels; the overplus was shipped to other marts; and Panama was made a place of public auction. Not only were they drawn from the outlying districts, but

also from the friendly lake settlements. The regions which Gil Gonzales found teeming with inhabitants were, in three years, reduced to uninhabited wilds. As a new display of refined cruelty, Pedrarias gave a kind of gladiatorial exhibition, at which eighteen captured chiefs were, one by one, brought into the arena and torn to pieces by bloodhounds—of which torture Oviedo, the great Spanish historian, who tells the story, was a witness.

Soon after the events described, Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas and friend of the Indians, appeared upon the scene. By his pulpit denunciations of the Spanish oppressions, and by threatening the leaders and soldiers with the ban of the Church, he succeeded for a time in checking their cruelties; but the death of his coadjutor, Bishop Osorio, left him powerless to contend against the authorities, and he abandoned the country. In 1542, he placed in the hands of the emperor the manuscript of his well-known work on the cruel treatment of the natives. It was chiefly through the statements in this work and his appeal in behalf of the Indians, that new laws for their protection were formed, by which their further enslavement was forbidden. All ecclesiastics, religious societies, and officers of the Crown were ordered to free their slaves, and inspectors were appointed to watch over the interests of the natives. These acts resulted in some reformation, though the distance from the seat of authority rendered it easy to avoid full compliance. Henceforth the Indian history of this section is connected chiefly with the labors of the missionaries among them.

Passing northward to San Salvador and Guatemala, we enter into the territory of the so-called civilized nations: a region whose surface is dotted over with the ruins of temples and other stone structures, showing a progress in the arts which has excited the wonder and admiration of antiquaries, and given rise to numerous theories regarding a former cultured race which has disappeared. However, investigation has succeeded in demonstrating that the authors

of these works were the ancestors of the natives found inhabiting the country at the arrival of the Spaniards. This, in fact, is the region of the most advanced native culture of America.

The people occupying the region embraced in these two states and Yucatan belonged, at the time of discovery, to two great stocks,—the Pipils of San Salvador and southern Guatemala to the Nahuatlan (2, Map A, Part I.), and the other tribes of Guatemala and Yucatan to the Mayan family (8, Map A, Part I.). The leading tribes of the latter, including two located in what is the present state of Chiapas, were the following: the Cakchikel, in southern Guatemala; Chol, in eastern Chiapas and northern Guatemala; Chorti, in the valley of Rio Motagua and western Honduras; Ixil, in central Guatemala; Itza [of Peten], in northern Guatemala; Kekchi, on Rio Cahabon, Guatemala; Kiche and Cakchikel, in southern Guatemala; Mam, in western Guatemala; Maya, in Yucatan and Campeche; Pokomam, in southern Guatemala; Pokonchi, in central Guatemala; Tzental, in Tabasco and Chiapas; Tzotzil, in northern Chiapas; and the Tzutuhil, about the southern shore of Lake Atitlan. The dialects of these Mayan tribes differ but slightly from one another, and their calendar and numeral systems, which were still in use at the time of the conquest, were substantially the same in all; and from these, although the inscriptions and codices have not been fully deciphered, enough has been ascertained to show that they are of Mayan origin.

The Cakchikel and Kiche tribes appear to have been in the ascendancy in Guatemala at the time of the conquest, the two being at that time at war with one another in the struggle for supreme control. (List of Linguistic Families, Appendix I.)

In 1522, the messengers of Alvarado appeared before Belehe Qat, the Cakchikel chief, at his capital, Patinamit. Anxious to obtain such powerful aid against their foes, the Cakchikel monarch sent, in return, ambassadors to Cortés

loaded with rich presents and instructed to tender allegiance and to propose alliance. It is stated by some of the early authorities that the Kiche ruler also despatched messengers to the conqueror with similar propositions and presents.

Notwithstanding these friendly propositions, warfare commenced at the very border of Guatemala. The Zapotitlans, probably of the Mam tribe, although doubtless aware of the destruction of Soconusco by this crimson hurricane which was sweeping through the land, preferred to face the storm rather than wear the shackles of slaves. Their bravery was in vain.

Shall we follow the storm as it sweeps onward? A few of the incidents must suffice as samples of the rest.

The bane of the Indians—the want of union among tribes, who preferred to nurse their petty feuds rather than combine to oppose the greater evil,—was the ally here, as elsewhere, of the Spaniards. Kicab Tanub, chief of the Kiches, proposed to the Cakchikel and Tzutuhil rulers to unite their forces in opposing the progress of the invaders; but the proposition met with a haughty refusal; the Cakchikel ruler, indeed, declared openly for the Spaniards, hoping to see them humble his Kiche foes. Kicab, having suddenly died while gathering his forces, was succeeded by his son, Tecum Umam, who hastened forward the preparations his father had begun. If we accept the statement of the early writers, we must believe his army well-nigh equalled in numbers that of Napoleon when he marched on Russia; Juarros makes the number two hundred and thirty thousand; but the Spanish authors understood well the art of increasing the numbers of the foe to enhance the honor of the victor. Whatever may have been the real number, firearms and Spanish cavalry soon scattered the hosts, and Spanish swords cut down the fugitives. When the city of Xelahun was reached it was found abandoned, the natives having fled to the mountains. While the Spaniards were remaining at this point, resting after the fatigue of battle,

they were attacked by the Kiche army led by Tecum Umam. Vain effort, brave chief! Your flint-tipped arrows, fire-hardened javelins, and slung pebbles are no match for Spanish arquebuses, Spanish swords, and metal-pointed lances. Though your warriors fight with undaunted bravery regardless of danger, naught but defeat and death await your effort to preserve your native freedom. One last desperate struggle, chief against chief,—Tecum against Tonatiuh,—the Spaniard's horse is slain, but his lance pierces the heart of the Indian chief.

Although the effort was a useless waste of lives, the son of Tecum Umam determined on one more struggle for freedom. Artifice was tried; pretending a desire for peace, Alvarado was invited to Utatlan, the Kiche's capital, to receive their tokens of submission, and to partake with them of a feast prepared for the occasion. The invitation was accepted, but native craft was matched in vain against European skill in the same trade. The tables were turned, and Oxib Quieh and the allied chiefs soon found themselves entrapped and in the hands of the conquerors. Their fate was sealed, they served as fuel for the flames. Their city was burned and their country devastated. The Cakchikel chief, despite the opposition of his people, sent his soldiers to assist in running down the fugitives. For a time the struggle ceased, submission was tendered, and peace made; but the captives taken in the war were branded as slaves; the royal fifth was handed to the treasurer and sold at auction, that money might be turned into the royal treasury. Kiche freedom was at an end. The people were turned over by the conquerors to the control of the priests, to be instructed in their religion.

The Cakchikel chiefs were now to learn that it would have been better had they joined their kindred in the struggle for freedom, and, had fate so decreed, gone down with them in the effort. Their eyes were opened to the fact that friends and foes were in the end treated alike by the Spaniards. When they saw their chief city appropriated to the

use of the invaders, their lands partitioned among the soldiers, and their people compelled to be servants and burden bearers, they sadly regretted their folly. Their temples and palaces were stripped of their gold and silver ornaments, and the king was ordered to have all the gold of his towns and villages brought in and laid at the feet of the conqueror; even their golden crowns were demanded, and Alvarado had the brutality to tear, with his own hands, the golden ornaments from the nostrils of three nobles brought into his presence. Despair brought on revolt; for a time success rewarded the effort, and the Spaniards were driven from Patinamit. The gleam of hope was of short duration; reinforcements having arrived from Mexico, fire and sword soon made the country a scene of desolation.

The Pipils of Salvador appear to have been in rebellion in 1526, and were not reduced until after several battles had been fought and many Indians slain. It was at this time that the great rebellion of the Indians of Guatemala occurred. According to Juarros (ii, 289), the whole land, from Cuzcatlan, in Salvador, to Olin-tepec, in Guatemala, a distance of ninety leagues, was in arms. Brasseur de Bourbourg (*Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv, 690) mentions the following tribes as taking part in this uprising: the Pokomam, Pokonchi, Kiche, Cakchikel, Pipil, and Xinca. Besides occupying most of Salvador, the Pipil tribe had two colonies in Guatemala, one on the Pacific coast and one in the eastern interior. The Xinca (18, Map A, Part I.) was a small tribe in the extreme southeastern part of Guatemala, and constituted a distinct family without any known affinity. The greater portion of the Spaniards, as well as the Indian allies, residing in the territory over which the rebellion extended were slaughtered; those who escaped fled to Quezaltenango. Retribution was swift. Alvarado, who was at that time putting down the rebellion in Salvador, having completed this work, pushed forward to Guatemala. Fighting his way through the numerous bands which tried to check his progress, he reached Patinamit, where the combined forces

of the confederates, amounting, it is stated, to thirty thousand warriors, had determined to make their chief stand. The result was the usual one: the Indians were defeated with heavy loss. Alvarado then made offers of peace to the chiefs, but they gave no response.

About this time, 1530-1550, the missionaries, among them Las Casas, undertook the work of pacifying and Christianizing the natives. However, submission brought little relief. The condition is summarized by Hubert Bancroft as follows:

Cruel as was the treatment of the natives in every part of the Spanish provinces, nowhere was oppression carried to such an extreme as in Guatemala. Here little distinction was made between the allies and the conquered races; even the faithful Tlascaltecs, who, after the conquest, had settled with the Mexican and Cholultec auxiliaries at Almolonga, being enslaved, overworked, and otherwise maltreated, until in 1547 there were barely a hundred survivors. The natives of Atitlan, who had never swerved in their allegiance to the Spaniards, were treated with equal severity. After sharing the hardships of their military campaigns, they were compelled to supply every year four or five hundred male and female slaves and every fifteen days a number of tributary laborers, many of whom perished from excessive toil and privation.—(*Hist. Cent. Am.*, ii, 234-235.)

And of the unpacified tribes he adds:

No words can depict the miseries of these hapless races. Wholesale slaughter, hanging, and burning, torturing, mutilating, and branding, followed the suppression of a revolt. Starvation, exhaustion, blows, fainting under intolerable burdens, groans of despair, and untimely death, were their lot in time of peace. During Alvarado's time the waste of life was wanton and most sickening. In the field, starving auxiliaries were fed on human flesh, captives being butchered for food; children were killed and roasted; nay, even where there was no want of provisions, men were slain merely for the feet and hands, which were esteemed delicacies by the anthropophagous races. Nor were the marital relations of the natives any more considered than if they had been by nature the brutes which the Spaniards made of them in practice. Households were rendered desolate, wives being torn from husbands and daughters from parents, to be distributed among the soldiers and seamen, while the children were sent to work at the gold-washings,

and there perished by thousands. Thus the work of depopulation progressed, and it is asserted by Las Casas that during the first fifteen or sixteen years of the conquest the destruction of Indians in Guatemala alone amounted to four or five million souls.

The authorities, political and ecclesiastical, were at last aroused to an effort to stop these abuses; new laws were made for the protection of the Indians, and this action was followed by some feeble efforts to enforce them. This attempt, however, was strongly resisted by the settlers, who lived almost entirely upon the labor of the Indians; nevertheless, the work of reformation had begun. Las Casas succeeded without any military assistance in pacifying the warlike inhabitants of Vera Paz, though his work was crippled by the imposition, by the provincial authorities, of heavy tribute upon them.

The natives of the region of Lake Peten in northern Guatemala, known as Itzas, hemmed in by rugged sierras, had remained undisturbed during the period of the struggles in Guatemala, save by the visit of Cortés in his passage to Honduras and the attempts of the priests to plant missionaries in their midst. Their reduction was finally undertaken in earnest by Martin Ursua, and was accomplished in 1697.

The Lacandonones, wild natives of the mountain region of the upper Usumacinta River, against whom numerous expeditions were sent, remained unsubdued. The recorded history of the Tzental tribe is enlivened by an authentic account of one of the most romantic events connected with the conquest of the American aborigines; *i. e.*, a revolt, in 1712-1713, led by an Indian maiden of the ruling clan, who was known to the Spaniards as Maria Candelaria and who has been styled the "American Joan of Arc." The meagre record of this revolution discloses the theme of a native epic which has held the attention of many students, including the anthropologist Brinton, who made it the subject of an imaginative work adapted for dramatic presentation. The revolt proved of short duration; it ended,

like others, in lavish bloodshed and the breaking of the tribal spirit.

Although Yucatan and Chiapas belong geographically to modern Mexico, the native tribes and their relations to the Conquistadores may be considered in this connection.

The first contact of the Spaniards with the natives of Yucatan was during the voyage of Francisco Hernandez in 1517. The navigators were astonished to see, for the first time, strong edifices constructed of stone, and to perceive that the inhabitants were so richly and tastefully clothed. They judged correctly from these indications that they had reached a country whose people were more highly cultured than any they had hitherto encountered. At Campeche they saw the first evidences of human sacrifice, that dark blot on the native civilization.

The peninsula at the time of the conquest was somewhat densely populated; the natives, though divided into some three or four tribal organizations or family groups, spoke the same language—the Maya [proper]. Hence the name Mayas. The crumbling ruins of stately stone edifices which dot the surface of the country tell, by their artistic finish, of the high degree of culture reached by the people of this region, equalled only by that of the adjoining province of Guatemala.

The attempt at settlement which was begun in 1539 was finally successful, though the colonists were for a time in constant conflict with the natives, especially those of Campeche. It is stated that during these first conflicts the slaughter of the Indians was so great that they often fought behind a wall of their own dead. Tiho, the site of the modern Merida, having been selected as the place of settlement, had first to be baptized with blood. The combined forces of the unfriendly tribes gathered suddenly about the encampment at this point, thinking to overwhelm the small Spanish force with the weight of numbers. The Spaniards, aware of the advantage of surprise, without waiting to be attacked, rushed at once upon the foe, the contest lasting

until sunset before the natives yielded. The armor and weapons of the natives could make no headway against Spanish means of offence and defence. So great was the carnage that the Spaniards were often compelled to climb over heaps of the dead in pursuit of the living. It would be more appropriately described as a slaughter than a battle. This conflict decided the fate of Yucatan. Although there were frequent subsequent rebellions, and the conquest of the country was not completed until several years later, this battle at Tiho was the last united effort of the natives at resistance.

Of all the people of the peninsula, the Kupules in the eastern section proved the most obstinate. They, having leagued with some neighboring villages, rose in revolt in 1546, but were soon subdued, though not until nearly all the Spaniards on the ranches of this eastern section had been slain, often with refined cruelty.

After 1546, missionary influence began to be felt, and in a few years had brought the Indians very largely under ecclesiastical control. However, ecclesiastical tribute being as burdensome as governmental tax, a number of local revolts occurred at intervals; as one in 1610, another in 1636-1639, others in 1653, 1669, 1670, and 1675. The Indians were also largely concerned in the rebellion of 1839-1841, which was a contest for state independence. The rebellion of 1847 was a war of races, the outgrowth of the hatred of the Mayas for the Spaniards. The rebels massacred without mercy, and the government, in suppressing the uprising, showed but little more humanity. The restless Mayas, seemingly unwilling to come under any governmental authority, were again in open revolt in 1868; and scarcely a year before this sentence was penned, Mexican soldiers were engaged in suppressing an outbreak of this uneasy population.

The Chiapanecs, having learned of the conquest of Montezuma's capital by the Spaniards, and of the wonderful success of these white-faced invaders, proffered to

Cortés their allegiance, which was accepted. But when the deceived natives learned that owning allegiance meant the giving up control of their lands to be assigned to Spanish settlers, and themselves becoming slave laborers for others on their own ranches, the spirit of resentment was aroused and in 1524 open revolt resulted, during which many settlers were slain. Luis Marin was sent against them, but the Chiapanec warriors, protected by thick cotton armor, and armed with formidable pikes, managed to offer such a strong resistance to the Spaniards, that, although the latter were nominally conquerors, they were so badly crippled as to be unable to effect a permanent settlement, and abandoned the country. The conflicts in this brief war [1524-1527] were unusually obstinate and fierce.

The rebellion of 1526 closed with one of the most tragic events recorded in Indian history. Having fought until they could no longer wield their weapons, scorning to yield themselves as slaves, the entire population of the town [of Chiapas] rushed to the verge of a cliff which overhung Mazapan River, and thence husbands and wives, and parents and children, locked in close embrace, hurled themselves headlong, thousands of them being crushed and mangled upon the rocks below or falling headlong into the swift-running river. The Spaniards attempted to interfere, but of all the multitude only two thousand could be saved. These were removed to a plain a league down the river, and from this settlement sprang the town of Chiapas de los Indios, which became in time a populous city.

From this time forward there was no further revolt of the tribe, and the tranquil condition which followed brought prosperity to the province.

The population of Chiapas was computed in 1813 at over 100,000, of whom 70,000 were Indians, the rest Spanish and mixed.

In this hasty glance at the history of Central America, only the more important events and general results could be referred to. These, however, are sufficient to show

that, as a general rule, to which there were some exceptions, the contest between the races ceased by the close of the sixteenth century. From that time forward the history of the Indians is absorbed in the social, religious, and industrial history of the country, of which but little has been recorded until recent years. (For a list of the stocks and tribes of Central America, see Appendix I.)

The modification of the population by immigrant whites and by the intermixture of races is best understood from the census reports. According to the census of 1778, the number of inhabitants in Guatemala was 430,859. Of these, 15,232 were whites; 27,676 Ladinos [or mixed]; and the Indians and negroes together 387,951. Bishop Garcia Pelaez, writing in 1841 and basing his conclusions on the census of 1837, gives the population of Central America as follows: Spaniards and white Creoles, 87,979; Ladinos, 619,167; Indians, 681,367; total, 1,388,513. The population of Guatemala in 1886 was estimated at 750,000 Indians, 430,000 Ladinos or mestizos, 10,000 whites, 8,000 negroes, and 2,000 foreigners. Formerly, caste distinctions were rigidly maintained, but these are rapidly disappearing under the liberal laws inaugurated in 1871. Although the larger portion of the Ladinos belong to the laboring classes and small farmers, many of them are mechanics and traders, and quite a number have attained high positions in Church and State; some have become distinguished for their talents and acquirements, and the republics of Mexico and Guatemala have elected at various times full-blooded Indians as presidents.

In regard to the little that is known of their social and political organization, the following may be stated as probably correct. Descent appears, as a general rule, to have been counted in the male line, the eldest son coming into authority at the death of his father—whether it passed from the elder to the younger brother is uncertain. There seems, however, to have been some limitation to this rule; as among some of the Mayan tribes of Guatemala, the nobles

had the power of selecting from the royal family the one who should succeed to the chieftaincy. In some parts of Nicaragua the people lived in communities, each forming a kind of government in itself, the authority residing in a council of "old men," who were elected by the people. These elders elected a war chief, whom they had power to remove, or even punish with death, in case it was deemed necessary for the welfare of the community.

A statement by Torquemada (*Monarq. Ind.*, ii, 419) indicates the usual division among the Guatemalan tribes into gentes, by which degrees of kinship were governed. He says that the Indians of Vera Paz recognized no relationship on the mother's side, and did not hesitate to marry their half-sister provided she was by another father. This, although clearly implying the gentile system, shows that descent was in the male line.

CHAPTER II

TRIBES OF MEXICO

TO FOLLOW Cortés through his brilliant, though heartless, conquest is a temptation difficult to be resisted; but this is Spanish rather than Indian history, and, moreover, much of the tale is told in another volume of this series. Our task must be to follow the natives along the less studied lines, and, though these may be less tintured by the halo of romance, they may serve to bring more prominently into view some of the underlying elements of population out of which modern Mexico has, at least in part, been formed. The recent advance in culture and government policy of our neighboring republic increases the desire to learn the story of her development, in which the Indian element has been an important factor, both negative and positive.

The natives of Mexico consisted of two classes, the distinction being based on the degree of culture; the one including the so-called civilized nations, and the other the savage or uncultured tribes. However, this division did not in all cases correspond with the ethnic or linguistic lines dividing the stocks, some of them including tribes both of the lowest and most advanced culture. This advanced culture, including that of Central America, was embraced in one continuous region, extending from the latitude of central Mexico to the western border of Honduras and from sea to sea, including in whole or in part some ten or eleven different linguistic stocks. This fact

leads to the conclusion that this higher culture was largely due to local influence.

The advance among the different tribes was in some respects along the same lines, but in other respects the lines of chief progress differed. The calendar and numeral systems were substantially the same in all the civilized tribes; but the Mayan people were the decided leaders in architecture, sculpture, and symbolic writing, the Zapotecs being second in architecture, and the Aztecs second in sculpture and symbolic writing. Notwithstanding the very general opinion to the contrary, the Aztecs were not great builders, few if any of the monuments being due to them; but they were decidedly the leaders in political organization, and through this became the chief power of Mexico and Central America, the realms of the tribe at the time of the conquest extending from Sinaloa to Guatemala on the Pacific coast, and from Mexico City to Tabasco on the Gulf side.

The leading stocks in Mexico were the Nahuatlan (2, Map A, Part II.), extending from the northern border of the republic down the western half to the latitude of the City of Mexico, across the central area to the Gulf coast and down the latter to the border of the peninsula of Yucatan, surrounding in its western area the independent Tarascan group (10, Map A, Part II.), and in the central area the Otomian (7, Map A, Part II.); the Zapotecan (11, Map A, Part II.), occupying a considerable area in Oaxaca and Tehuantepec; and southeast of the latter and extending into Chiapas, the Zoquean family (13, Map A, Part I.), neighbors of the Mayan tribes. The region north of the Otomis and extending well up to Rio Grande del Norte was formerly occupied by a heterogeneous population, designated by early writers by the indefinite term Chichimecas, of whom but little of historical value has been recorded, and whose ethnic relations were not ascertained before they became extinct. (See "Unclassified" in Appendix I., and 5, Map A, Part II.) Of the minor stocks, it is necessary to mention only the Totonacan (9, Map A, Part II.), located chiefly in the state

of Vera Cruz; the Huasteca, a Mayan tribe on the Panuco; and the Serian, of Sonora (4, Map A, Part II.), the lowest in the culture scale of the republic. (For a list of the linguistic families and tribes of Mexico, see Appendix I.)

The Totonac Indians, among whom Cortés disembarked on his expedition to Mexico, were a people of advanced culture. According to Herrera, author of *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*, the houses of Cempoalla, their capital city, were of brick and mortar, and each was surrounded by a small garden, at the foot of which a stream of fresh water was conducted. In these were grown fruit trees; and around the city were fields of maize. Altogether, he adds, it was like a terrestrial paradise. According to their tradition, they had occupied this region—which they called Totonicapan—for some seven or eight centuries; most of which time they had been independent, but were brought under the Aztec yoke some two or three generations previous to the arrival of the Spaniards. Groaning under the heavy taxes imposed by the Mexican monarch and the insults heaped upon them by the tax gatherers, they were easily persuaded to transfer their allegiance to the Spanish sovereign and unite their forces with those of Cortés in his march to the Mexican capital. With the incidents connected with the arrival of the Spaniards and the part they took in the expedition against Montezuma's capital, the history of the Totonacs virtually closes, save what relates to their domestic life. Nevertheless, they lived on as a people, and Professor Frederick Starr (*Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, 86) estimates the present population at 100,000, and speaks of them as an industrious agricultural people.

Following Cortés in his march to the capital, the next tribe he encountered on the route selected was the Tlascalan, whose territory, lying immediately east of the plain of Anahuac, was hemmed in by surrounding ranges of hills. He was led by the Totonac chief to believe that he would be accorded a friendly reception because of the intense

hatred of the Tlascalans toward Montezuma, who had tried in vain to subdue them. But the hope was doomed to disappointment; for, when the army reached the territorial boundary, marked by a strong stone wall, the messengers sent forward to ask a free passage through the country returned with a haughty answer denying the request. This, to Cortés, was a declaration of war.

The battles fought with the brave natives of the province were among the most obstinate contests experienced during the invasion, the success and even the very life of the army hanging, at times, in a doubtful balance. Many were the hearts, we are told, that quaked in the first attack, believing their last moment had come. "For we were in greater peril," says Bernal Diaz, a participant, "than ever before." "None of us will escape," exclaimed Teuch, the Totonac chief. But Marina, Cortés's maiden interpreter, calm and confident, replied: "The mighty God of the Christians, who loves them well, will let no harm befall them." Marina's confidence in her hero's success was not misplaced; notwithstanding band after band of the thirty thousand assailants was hurled against the little army of invaders, native weapons, though bravely wielded, were no match for Spanish arms, Spanish armor, and Spanish impetuosity. The vast host was dispersed and the Spaniards were masters of the situation.

Once more the intrepid natives gathered in battle array, their army of warriors determined to test again the invulnerability of the white-faced strangers. They struggled in vain. Submission soon followed, the Cross replaced in the temples the hideous deities of the Indians, and the Mass was substituted for the revolting sacrifice. Thereafter the Tlascalans became the most faithful as well as the most efficient native allies of the Spaniards. They were with them at the sack of Cholula, took part in all the fierce conflicts in and around the City of Mexico; and when Cortés was forced to abandon it, received him and his shattered army with open arms in their own homes; and though their

own forces had been greatly thinned, gathered a new army to assist him in renewing his attack on the royal city.

When the conquest was completed, their services were remembered by Cortés; and though not rewarded to the extent they deserved,—for without their aid not a Spaniard would have survived,—their people were made exempt from tribute, and their lands left entirely to their own control. They were also granted other privileges and exemptions, and official titles were bestowed upon their leaders. Their capital was made the seat of the first diocese; and their *alcalde mayor*, elected by themselves, was made their governor. Sixty years later, we find them forming settlements about the mining regions of the north among the Chichimecas, with whom they lived on terms of friendship, and at the same time were faithful guards of the mining interests.

As an incident in their subsequent history, we read of a bread riot in 1692 in Tlascala, the details of which are so like those of our own day that a description is unnecessary.

In 1811, during the revolutionary struggle for independence, the city of Tlascala was attacked, and a number of Tlascalan towns and their districts devastated. In 1812, another attack was made by the revolutionists on the city, whose inhabitants were firm adherents to the royalist party; but the assault failed and the forces of Morelos were compelled to retire.

The present state of Tlascala includes practically the same area as the old province of Cortés's time, and contains 1,595 square miles. The population in 1895 was 166,803, almost entirely Indian, the current speech being the Aztec, which was their native language. The present governor, Prospero Cahuantzi, is an Indian of pure blood.—(Starr, *op. cit.*, 14.) The people are largely agriculturists, but many are engaged in various manufactures, as pottery, bagging, belts, etc.

The Aztec tribe formed not only the most powerful nation, but also the chief representative of Nahuatlan civilization at the coming of the Spaniards. Mexico City,—the ancient Tenochtitlan,—located then on an island in one

of the cluster of lakes occupying the centre of the valley of Anahuac, was their seat of authority, the place of the royal residence. Although a feeble folk at the outset, they had gradually reached out, until the kingdom over which Montezuma II. held sway extended from Rio del Fuerte in Sinaloa to Tabasco and from gulf to ocean.

A brief description of the capital city, as seen at the time of the conquest, will serve as some indication of the culture of the inhabitants. The place selected consisted of some small islands in the western part of the chief lake of the cluster. Here the fugitives who had chosen this retreat erected first a temple of rushes, around which the settlement grew, spreading in the course of years over the islets and on piles and filled ground as additional space was required. Successive sovereigns vied in their efforts to enlarge and beautify the place as success in war increased their power and wealth.

Two great avenues paved with hard cement traversed the city, one from north to south, the other east and west, crossing in the centre, dividing it into four quarters. The one running north and south extended by causeways across the water in each direction to the mainland, and the other to the mainland on the west. These causeways, supported on piles and rubble, were of sufficient width to allow ten horsemen to ride abreast; and were provided at intervals with bridges for the passage of boats. Near the city were wooden drawbridges, by which passage to and from the causeways could be cut off. A fourth causeway supported the aqueduct which conveyed water into the city.

The buildings were of two widely different sorts: one, the dwellings of the people, being of one story in height, sometimes, however, placed on terraces. Every house stood by itself, being separated from the others by narrow lanes or little gardens and inclosing an open court. This uniformity was relieved by the structures of the other sort, which consisted of numerous temples raised high above the dwellings, on mounds, the great temple of the god of war

towering over all. According to the statement of one of the early writers, who participated in the conquest, there was in the palace of Montezuma a single room of sufficient dimensions to contain three thousand persons. Such was the capital city of the Aztecs as described by the historians of the Spanish conquest.

The bravery and fighting qualities of the Aztecs are fully shown in their conflicts with Cortés's army. Unfortunately for them, their king was then—whatever he may have been in his early days—a dreamy despot ruled by superstition and priestly influence and withal a coward, at least where omens intervened. Cortés and his army were permitted to enter the city without any show of resistance, and Montezuma even humbled himself to welcome them; yet what had occurred, and the fact that the Spaniards were accompanied by hosts of the bitter enemies of his people, should have been sufficient evidence of their intentions. When he saw the critical state of affairs approaching, instead of meeting it bravely as his brothers and counsellors advised, he quietly and submissively allowed himself to be made a captive. Though he could stand by the blood-begrimed altar and see, without a qualm, the hearts torn from hundreds of unfortunate captives, and even take part himself in the horrible sacrifice, yet, when there was the least danger of his own blood being spilled, he preferred to go into captivity and fawn on his captor. It is said that in his early days he had proved himself a brave warrior on more than one battlefield, and because of this and other high qualities he was, though only in his thirty-fourth year, chosen in preference to an elder brother. It is certain, however, that he exhibited none of these high qualities in his dealings with the Spaniards, but, on the contrary, his vacillating course seemed to have as its chief object the preservation of his own imperial person. He may have been learned in the lore of his day and race, but it was the lore of superstition and priestcraft; and his retention of power and dominion was due to immense armies whose

maintenance drained the resources of his people. As a recent writer has truly remarked: "Duty and honor were overcome by superstition and absorbing love of power and life." His acts throughout were those of the caitiff. Though resistance might have been in the end ineffectual, it would have preserved his honor, and his subjects would have been better reconciled to defeat. He was slain by his own people in an outburst of indignation at his fawning obsequiousness to the Spaniards.

The terrible conflicts which followed in this city and on the causeway in the notable "noche triste" afford ample proof of Aztec bravery and tenacity of purpose; and they also furnish proof that control had passed into more energetic hands. Cuitlahuatzin, the younger brother of Montezuma, though a fratricide, proved himself a determined enemy of the invaders, and an able leader in the fierce conflicts which followed the death of Montezuma.

The terrible battle of Otumba, when the escaped Spaniards were on their retreat to Tlascala—a battle which will be ever memorable because of the great disparity of the opposing forces; and the long and fierce struggle in the final capture of the city, where Quauhtemotzin, the nephew of Montezuma, was the brave and unyielding leader of the native hosts, must be passed over without further comment. We only add, in the words of another: "For seventy-five consecutive days, says Cortés, the siege had been wreathing its coils midst almost hourly scenes of bloodshed, wherein nearly one thousand Spaniards and two hundred times that number of allies had taken part." Of the Spaniards the loss did not exceed a hundred, but of the allies twenty thousand fell. The loss to the Mexicans, according to conservative estimates, was one hundred thousand. Bernal Diaz, speaking of the sight presented the day after the surrender, says: "I swear that the lake and houses and abodes were so full of human bodies and heads of dead men that I am unable to convey an idea thereof; for in the streets and courts of Tlatelulco there were no other things, and we

could walk only amidst dead bodies." However, it must be remembered that these are estimates of the Spanish historians, which must be taken with some allowance.

The Aztec empire was at an end; henceforward it was to be absorbed into the Mexican colony of Spain, until Mexico should become an independent republic.

The culture of the Aztecs was, in some respects, the most advanced of any native American tribe. While they were inferior in regard to architecture and symbolic writing to the Mayan tribes, their political system and form of government had made the nearest approach to that of civilized life of any native people of North America. Their symbolic and picture writing was but little behind that of the Mayas, and in the minor arts they were in advance of the latter. In vivid contrast, however, with this remarkable progress toward civilization was the custom and cruel method of offering human sacrifices under the guise of religion, yet really, as is maintained by able authority, to provide animal food for certain privileged classes. There can be no satisfactory explanation of the vast number of persons sacrificed, except on this supposition.

According to Professor Starr (*op. cit.*, 334), there are at present people of Aztec blood, speaking the Aztec language, from Sinaloa in the north to Chiapas in the south; while the states of Guerrero, Mexico, Morelos, and Puebla are in a large part still occupied by them. He estimates the number of Indians of pure blood in the republic who speak the Aztec language, including the Tlascalans, at 1,500,000.

Aztec traditions state that the Otomi Indians were the earliest inhabitants of Central Mexico. Though residing chiefly in what are at present the states of Guanajuato and Queretaro, their settlements appear to have extended into the valley of Anahuac. As a whole, the Otomis were rude and barbarous in their mode of life and customs, but those along the line of contact with the civilized tribes of the lake region appear to have made considerable advance in culture.

The first notice we have of them is in the account of the siege of Mexico City, when they offered aid and supplies to Cortés. The offer was gladly accepted, and soon there appeared, from the western mountain border of the valley, twenty thousand of their sturdy warriors loaded with supplies. The next we hear of them is in 1522 [or 1531?], when, in connection with a body of Mexicans as allies of the Spaniards, they made an expedition, under command of San Luis de Montañez, against the Chichimecas, defeating the latter in one of the most singular battles ever fought. They found the enemy, twenty thousand strong, posted on a hill. "Oh, you brave warriors perched on a hill," cried San Luis; "come down and fight if you are not cowards." "Very fair, indeed, you renegades and dogs of the Spaniards," answered Coyote, chief of the Chichimecas; "lay aside your borrowed weapons and we will come down." It was then agreed that each party should lay aside all their arms and fight without weapons, and that the conquered should be subjects of the victors. With hands, feet, and teeth this strange battle was fought, the allies coming out victorious; and many of the Chichimecas, we are informed, were then and there baptized by Padre Juan Bautista, who had accompanied the army.

The history of the Otomis, so far as recorded, and as a distinct tribe or family, is very brief. Fifteen years after they had joined Cortés, missionaries had penetrated into their mountainous country, apparently without opposition, and though the work of conversion was slow the perseverance of the Augustinian padres was ultimately rewarded with a fair degree of success. Nevertheless, some of the Otomis were more than once in conflict with the authorities, and though defeated were not brought into complete subjection for several years. The tribe, it must be remembered, was large and composed of many bands, some of them so wild and barbarous that they were classed with the Chichimecas.

The Otomis occupied a very large territory, and to-day the area over which they extend is second only to that over which the Aztec language is spoken.

The Zapotec and Miztec—or Mixtec—tribes, forming together the Zapotecan family or stock (11, Map A, Part II.), were located chiefly in the present state of Oaxaca. The remarkable ruins of Mitla, which have attracted the attention of antiquaries because of their peculiar features and the evidence they furnish of advanced culture, are located in the Zapotec country, and are attributed to this people. It is even held by some authors who have studied the ethnology and antiquities of Mexico and Central America that the native culture of these regions received its first impulse in the Zapotec nation. That the so-called Native Calendar was one of the primary elements of this culture is susceptible of demonstration, and that it had its origin among the Zapotec tribes is the apparent result of recent investigation and study. That the Zapotecs were a people of advanced culture is, at any rate, generally conceded.

The first contact of this nation with the Spaniards was in 1522, when Captain Briones, by direction of Sandoval, invaded their country. Underestimating their strength and bravery, his overconfidence received a severe check, and he was forced to return to his commander and acknowledge his defeat. However, when Sandoval appeared with an increased force the cacique threw open his gates in token of submission, which course was followed by other rulers.

This, however, was by no means the end of the conflict; though some towns had yielded, the Zapotec and cognate tribes were yet unsubdued. In 1523, Rodrigo Rangel entered their territory to demand submission and tribute, only to meet with defeat; but returning in 1524 with an increased force, he compelled submission for the time being, and returned with a large number of captives to be sold into slavery.

The Zapotecs and Mijes—the latter a tribe of the Zoquean stock—having taken part in the revolt of 1527, a double expedition was sent against them, one division under Diego de Figuero, the other under Alonso de Herrera. The former contented himself with plundering graves for

the buried treasures, and an occasional descent on a town to levy contributions. The latter leader and a number of his party were slain by the natives. These Indians were again in revolt in 1531, during which most of the Spanish miners of the district were slain. Another rebellion occurred in 1550, at which time it was claimed by the natives that Quetzalcoatl, the great deity, had appeared to free them from their thralldom. However, these revolts were soon suppressed and the people finally submitted to Spanish rule. The total Zapotec population was given in 1876 at 230,600 persons. The group, in addition to the two chief tribes,—the Zapotec and Mixtec,—includes some seven minor tribes. (See Appendix I.) One peculiarity of the Zapotecs is the variation in speech of the different settlements, which was noticed as early as 1578 by Juan de Cordoba, who was then a missionary among them and composed a grammar of their language; he says that among all those who speak this language, even those purely Zapotec, there is no village whose language does not differ to some degree from others. The most complete quinary-vigesimal system of numbers found in any native American language was that of the Mazateco, one of the tribes of this group.

The Zapotecs are described as the most pleasing Indians of Mexico, the beauty of the women being specially noted by travellers. They are intelligent, industrious, and progressive, and the tribe has produced men eminent as political leaders, soldiers, and scholars; President Juarez was a full-blood Zapotec.

In the various revolutions which occurred in the subsequent history of Mexico between contending political factions, the tribes which have been mentioned were ranged sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, or, as happened in more than one instance, part of the tribe on one side and part on the other, their assistance more than once sufficing to turn the scale in the contest.

Of the oppressive measures and cruel treatment received by the Indians at the hands of the conquistadores, none

exceeded those inflicted by Nuño de Guzman, governor of the Panuco province. Pedrarias and Alvarado used oppression and cruelty to procure gold and slaves, but Guzman seems to have acted from an innate delight in causing suffering.

His work of devastation began in his own province, occupied chiefly by the Huasteca, a tribe of the great Mayan group. The natives were treated with an absolute disregard of justice. Their houses and lands were ravaged and everything of value carried away. He even caused several natives to be hanged because they had omitted to sweep the roads before him. In order to raise funds for his proposed expedition to Jalisco, he seized the natives of his own province and began to export them as slaves. The terror-stricken inhabitants fled to the forests and mountains, but slave-hunting parties were put upon their trails to ferret them out. Caciques were tortured to force them to reveal the hiding places of their people. Ten thousand natives were carried away and sold as slaves.

During his temporary control as Governor of Mexico, at the least manifestation of discontent, whole towns were declared in rebellion, subdued by force of arms, and the inhabitants sold as slaves. So many Indians were branded and exported that some districts were well-nigh depopulated, those not taken abandoning their homes and fleeing to places of safety.

During his march through Michoacan and Nueva Galicia, chiefs were tortured and burnt when unable to furnish more gold, or when they were unfortunate enough to incur his special displeasure; towns were destroyed and the country through which the army passed was made a desert. Tangaxoan, chief of the Tarascans who occupied Michoacan, though friendly to the Spaniards, allowing the army unopposed passage through his country, furnishing thousands of burden bearers, and giving up all the precious metals in possession of his people, was, apparently from the very love of cruelty, tortured day after day and then given to

the flames. Numbers of his faithful allies even, the Tlascalans and Aztecs, were tortured and remorselessly slain because they murmured at the hardships they had to undergo. The expedition was throughout a trail of blood and smoking ruins, and withal a decided failure from the material standpoint.

But little is known of the history of the Indians of the northern central districts, most of whom became extinct at an early day. The Indians of Zacatecas, consisting of Zacatecs, Cascanes, and other so-called Chichimec tribes, appear to have been uninterrupted after the visit of Chirinos, one of the officers in Guzman's expedition of 1530. They seem to have taken a part in the Mixtec rebellion of 1541; after this for a year or two they continued to raid the settlements of the Spaniards and friendly Indians. In 1546, Juan de Tolosa, husband of Leonor Cortés de Montezuma, daughter of Cortés and granddaughter of Montezuma, with four Franciscan friars and a band of Juchipila Indians, made the first settlement in the province, and by mild measures brought the Indians into friendly relations. The cause of their extinction has not been given, possibly through the raids of the Apaches, or possibly from being forced to work in the mines.

The northern tribe which has given most trouble to the Mexican government is that division of the Cahita group [Nahuatlan stock] known as the Yaquis, in Sinaloa. They were in rebellion in 1868, in 1885-1886, and again in 1901-1902.

The northwestern section of Mexico included other tribes of whose history comparatively little is known, as they lay outside of the lines of trade, and were for a long time beyond the borders of Spanish settlements. Of these it is only necessary to notice here the Opata and the Seri. The latter occupied the Gulf coast immediately north of the Yaquis, and the neighboring island of Tiburon. They were a wild and savage tribe, isolated not only ethnically from other Indians, but in habits avoiding intercourse with

other tribes or with the whites. The missionaries found their efforts of but little avail in dealing with this people. A state of petty warfare was carried on at intervals between them and the whites for two centuries. They are now reduced to a remnant, according to Professor W. J. McGee, who visited and made a study of them in 1894 and 1895, numbering not more than two hundred and fifty or three hundred persons.

The Opata, whose territory adjoined the Seri on the east, were from the first a tractable people. They received the missionaries willingly, and even in the time of Perez Ribas [1640-1660] a number of missions were established in their country. They have been almost uniformly friendly toward the Spaniards.

The probable origin of the tribes of Mexico and Central America, their development, the incidents of the conquest, and their subsequent history, form the most interesting portion of the history of the natives of America. Here, in a region which has no physical advantages over the fertile area of that portion of the United States east of Rocky Mountains which now supports the most enlightened and powerful nation of the entire continent, we see the native population climbing, unaided by extraneous influence so far as known, the culture scale to the very threshold of civilization. And, what is equally difficult to account for, this advance, as before stated, is not bounded by ethnic lines, but rather by geographical limits.

The problem yet awaits a satisfactory solution; we have faith, however, to believe that the many-sided attacks which are now being made upon it by antiquarians and ethnologists will ultimately result in at least partially solving the mystery. At present it can only be safely affirmed that this being the region of the maize plant, agriculture was developed, which was conducive to sedentary life and advance in culture.

The Spaniards, in their eager and almost frantic search for gold, were pushing their investigations in every direction

where regions remained unexplored. Rumors had reached them of a province north of Mexico abounding in the precious metals and dotted over with cities, in one of which, it was said, an entire street was wholly occupied by goldsmiths. Friar Marcos de Niza had made an attempt to reach the "Seven Cities of Cibola," of which rumor had spread to the south; and though unable, on account of the hostile attitude of the natives, to enter either, he had given a glowing account of the wealth of the people. These accounts were sufficient to send off the too credulous Spaniards in search of these visionary eldorados; and Coronado, whose expedition is described in another volume, was soon on his way with an army despatched by Mendoza, then Viceroy of Mexico, to bring this northern country, first known as New Granada and afterward as New Mexico, under subjection to Spanish rule.

A large portion of the people of this region,—now embraced in New Mexico and Arizona,—though less advanced than those of southern Mexico and Central America, had reached a somewhat higher cultural state than the other Indians of the United States and most of the tribes of northern Mexico. They were an agricultural people, who dwelt in stone and adobe houses, and cultivated and manufactured cotton to some extent. Some of their so-called "pueblos," or communal houses, were several stories high and contained a sufficient number of rooms to house all the people of a village.

It was toward this region that Coronado and his army were making their way when Friar Marcos returned to Mexico with his glowing account of the wealth of this new eldorado, where cities were to be seen equalling in size and magnificence Montezuma's capital. When they reached the first of these cities [July, 1540], the only one which the imaginative friar had seen, notwithstanding the gifts of trinkets and offers of friendship made by the commander, their reception was a hostile one; flights of arrows instead of joyous welcomes greeted them. The place was

captured and the Spaniards installed, though not until after a fierce struggle, in which Coronado was wounded. During the night the Indians stole away, leaving the victors in undisputed possession.

Efforts were made, through a few of the inhabitants who returned to the village, to effect a reconciliation and establish peace; but these overtures were ineffectual, for in a day or two the villages of the valley were abandoned, the Indians having withdrawn to Thunder Mountain.

Alvarado, who had been sent out by Coronado to explore the country, reported that he had ascertained the names of eighty villages in the Rio Grande valley. But the Spaniards, though they had succeeded in reaching the country sought, and soon had taken possession, were sadly disappointed with the result. They had indeed found an agricultural people who dwelt in stone and adobe houses, and cultivated and manufactured cotton to some extent; but the great cities of which they had received such glowing accounts had dwindled to small villages, and the gold and silver vessels they expected to find had vanished. Had the army passed from Florida to the Pueblo region, it is probable, unless wholly blinded by the thirst for gold, they would have been pleased; but coming from the more civilized southern sections, the villages were insignificant in their estimation, the country poor, and the people mere savages. They were hoping to find another Peru, hence their disappointment was bitter.

With the stay of the army here, oppression by the Spaniards began; food and clothing were forcibly taken, females were violated, prisoners were ruthlessly slaughtered. The result of this course was easily seen. The natives, where unable to resist the invaders, abandoned their villages and fled to the mountains. To every offer of reconciliation and peace they referred to the broken faith of the Spaniards. The people of Tiguex, the chief resting place of the army, galled to resistance by these oppressions, rebelled; and when Coronado advanced against them, his army was at first

repulsed and a siege of fifty days followed. In the end, most of the inhabitants were slain, and all the villages of that province were taken and plundered and the inhabitants killed, enslaved, or driven from their homes.

With the return of the army to Mexico, this first enterprise of the Spaniards in the northern section came to an inglorious ending.

Twenty years later, 1582-1583, Espejo, a private citizen, accompanied by only a friar and fourteen soldiers, wandered peacefully through the country from village to village without opposition, accomplishing substantially as great results, remarks a modern author, "as had Coronado with his grand armies, his winter's warfare on the Rio Grande, and his barbarous oppression of the unoffending natives."

It was not until the closing years of the sixteenth century [1595-1599] that the actual occupation of the country by the Spaniards began. In 1598, Oñate, armed with the king's grant and accompanied by a number of colonists, entered the Pueblo country and at Santo Domingo was met by seven chiefs, representing some thirty-four towns, who acknowledged allegiance to the King of Spain. With the exception of an outbreak on the part of the people of Acoma, their defeat and the destruction of their village, there are few items relating to the Indians until the revolt in 1640; in truth, this period is well-nigh a blank in the history of this region; it appears, however, that peace generally prevailed.

At length, the Indians, growing restless under the strict discipline of the priests in compelling the discontinuance of their native ceremonies, and seeing many of their men carried off to the mines and reduced to slavery, began to plan a general uprising. The first attempt was made in 1640, but the revolt was soon overpowered by the prompt measures of General Arguello, then governor of the province. The Apaches appear in this revolt as allies of the Pueblo Indians.

After this the fire was smothered for a time, but not wholly extinguished. The exactions of the priests, of whom there was a most liberal supply in that country, estranged and embittered the natives; and when the authorities undertook to enforce compliance with the priests' requirements, by imprisonment, flogging, slavery, and even death, the flame of indignation burst forth in open rebellion in 1680. It was the design of the natives, urged on by their most active and influential leaders, to utterly exterminate the Spaniards; and with the exception of a few of the loveliest women and girls retained as captives, the massacre was indiscriminate; neither priest, soldier, nor colonist, neither old nor young, man nor woman, was spared. Governor Otermin, with the citizens of Santa Fé, the refugees from other towns who had succeeded in reaching the city, and probably a few soldiers, less than two hundred fighting men in all, defended the place for five days; but the host of besiegers being constantly augmented by the arrival of other bands, they were forced to retreat to the south. The revolt was completely successful, every Spaniard not slain—save a few female captives—being driven from the country. The number of white victims was over four hundred, including twenty-one missionaries. The latter were especially sought out and slain with savage cruelty. They were the chief objects of the Indians' hatred, for they were looked upon as the chief cause of Spanish oppression. On the attempted return of the Spaniards next year, the pueblos south of Isleta were found depopulated, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, leaving their stores behind. Isleta submitted only after a sharp contest, and the Spaniards applied the torch to this and all other pueblos they passed save three, which, though abandoned, were so well supplied with provisions that Don Domingo, the leader, decided to spare them.

Several years elapsed, after the failure of Otermin to subdue the rebellious inhabitants and to reconquer New Mexico, before another attempt at subjugation was made.

Meanwhile, the Indians remained in undisturbed possession of the country, and were fast relapsing into their barbarous manners and customs. Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan was selected in 1692 by the Viceroy of Mexico to renew the attempt. He met with no opposition until he reached the vicinity of Santa Fé, where the Indians of the surrounding pueblos had gathered to oppose his further progress. After a fierce contest lasting a whole day, the Spaniards succeeded in dispersing them and entered Santa Fé. With the fall of this place, the neighboring pueblos, twelve in number, made submission, and were visited and taken possession of in the name of the King of Spain, and delivered over to the care of the priests to be reduced to spiritual obedience. Seven hundred and sixty-nine persons, as the records state, were received into the bosom of the Church. The other pueblos yielded after some desultory warring, in which one portion of the inhabitants aided the Spaniards against the other portion.

In 1696, another rebellion broke out in fourteen pueblos. Thirty-four Spaniards and five priests were slain, churches were burned, and the sacred vessels desecrated. The result, however, was disastrous to the Indians, as more than two thousand of their number perished in the mountains whither they were driven, while as many more deserted their villages and joined the wild tribes, leaving the country in many parts nearly depopulated. From this time forward the submission of the Indians may be regarded as permanent.

In the account given of the settlement by the Spanish of the northern region, now embraced in New Mexico and Arizona, reference has been made chiefly to the natives usually known as the Pueblo tribes. These natives are, or were until a recent date, more nearly in their original condition than any other tribes of the republic, and have, with their communal houses and retention of many of their ancient customs, afforded a rich field for antiquarian research. Nevertheless, a complete history of this region brings to notice other tribes which in after years come more or less into

prominence, and with which the United States government—when discovery of mines and settlement of the territories began—was brought into practical relations. Of these, the tribes mentioned below appear to have figured to some extent in the early history of Arizona and New Mexico.

While peace was maintained with the Pueblo Indians, there was almost constant friction between the Spaniards and some of the unsettled tribes living in and around the territory almost up to the time the United States assumed control. Among these were the Comanches and Apaches.

The Pima Alto, or Upper Pimas, in the region of Rio Gila, were among the Indians encountered by the Spanish explorers in their expeditions in search of the cities of Cibola. Their relations with the Spaniards were friendly from the first and continued so, offering an easily cultivated field to the missionary laborers—an opening which was not neglected, as is proved, had history failed to record the fact, by numerous remains of early missions, scattered through the section. As evidence of the friendly relations with the whites, it is only necessary to mention the fact that for six years Father Kino travelled back and forth throughout the length and breadth of the Pima country, often alone, yet without serious molestation. But two revolts are mentioned—one in 1695, apparently brought on by the oppressive acts of Captain Mange's soldiers. The other outbreak was in 1750, when two missionaries and one hundred Spaniards were killed.

The Navajos were in friendly relations with the authorities, at least in a general way, up to 1700; however, after that date they were in repeated conflict with the colonists, chiefly through the efforts of the latter to protect the Pueblos from their raids. They were almost constantly at war with the Utes. The cognate Apaches, consisting of a number of bands under different names, were alternately at peace and at war, sometimes attacking the Pueblos, then joining the Spaniards in an expedition against the Ute and Comanche Indians.

The two last-mentioned tribes, the Mojave and other tribes of the section, save the Hopi [Moqui], did not come into prominence until later. The Hopi Pueblos managed as a general rule to avoid being drawn into the conflicts between the other Pueblos and the Spaniards, and after the conflict at the first meeting were generally on friendly relations with the latter. Some of the Hopi Pueblos took part in the uprising of 1680, while others remained friendly and protected their padres.

The Pueblo tribes, though quite similar in their manners and characteristics, pertained to four different linguistic stocks, to wit: the Hopi, to the Shoshonean division of the great Nahuatlan family; the Zúñi, to the Zúñian; the people of Acoma, Cochiti, and a number of other Rio Grande pueblos, to the Keresan stock; and the people of Taos and some of the lower pueblos, to the Tafiöan. The fact that they had reached a more advanced stage of culture than other tribes of the same latitude and northward has been mentioned. They continued to live, until recently, in little communities, distinct from the Spanish population, governed by their own local customs and laws. Each village was distinct from the others, there being no official or political bond of union between them. Their officers were a governor, a justice of the peace,—or *alcalde*,—styled *cacique*, a *fiscal*, or constable to execute the laws, and a “council of wise men.” Besides these there was a war captain, who had charge of military affairs. They were a quiet and orderly people, industrious and frugal, devoted to agricultural pursuits, having at the time of the conquest advanced to that stage in which irrigation was adopted as an aid in furnishing the necessary supply of water. In addition to maize, beans, pumpkins, etc., they were already cultivating cotton and weaving it into cloth; and the females were adepts in the manufacture of pottery.

It is unfortunately true that the wise policy and humane purposes of a government, as set forth in its laws, decrees, and ordinances, are often rendered ineffectual in their

practical application by the failure, on the part of those to whose hands their execution is intrusted, to carry them out in the spirit and manner intended. There are perhaps few more conspicuous examples of the difference between the enactment and execution of laws, where an important principle is involved, than that of the expressed policy of the Spanish government in regard to the natives of its American colonies and the actual policy adopted by those appointed to carry it out.

The treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards, as given in the preceding statements, is shown to have been generally oppressive and in many cases cruel and even barbarous; yet an examination of the laws of Spain and the ordinances of the king shows that these acts were not only unwarranted thereby, but in direct conflict therewith.

The first real effort for the betterment of the natives was begun in 1551, when Velasco put into effective operation the royal orders to this end. One hundred and fifty thousand male slaves, besides a great number of women and children, were set at liberty. A decree of Philip II. in 1587 confirmed to the various pueblos, or villages, eleven hundred varas square of land, which was subsequently increased to a league square. However, it was the theory of Spain that the Indians held no higher title to the land than that of possession, without the right of alienation. The decree of the Royal Audience of Mexico of February 23, 1781, prohibits the Pueblo Indians from selling, renting, leasing, or in any other manner disposing of their lands to one another or to third parties without the consent of the said Royal Audience.

The geographical positions of the linguistic families of New Mexico and Arizona are shown in Map C and explained in the list which accompanies it.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS OF FLORIDA AND THE EASTERN GULF STATES

As we have travelled northward on the western slope to the limit of native population brought to notice at an early date, and approximately to the limit northward of Spanish conquest, we turn now to the Atlantic side, and commencing with the Indians of Florida and the eastern Gulf states will proceed northward somewhat in the order of discovery and settlement, though without being limited thereby, the object in view being to trace to its close, or to the present, the history of each group reached before passing to another.

Florida, which extends furthest southward, had been the goal of numerous explorers; the fabled fountain which renewed the youth and vigor of the aged, and the rich mines of "Apalatacy Mountains," had been for a time the attractions which lured thither the eager adventurers; but it was not until after the first half of the sixteenth century had passed and European nations had made the first attempts to form settlements on the eastern coast that the history of the Indians of this province really begins. Not until Jean Ribault and René Laudonnière attempted, in 1564-1567, to plant a French colony in Florida were the two races brought into practical relations one with the other on the Atlantic shore of the United States. Although this region was destined to come into possession of Spain and form one of the colonies of that nation, this was not to be until France had led the way in the enterprise. When the French

appeared upon the scene, the Indians of Florida, notwithstanding the frequent visits of Europeans to the peninsula, were, excepting those of the northwest section encountered by Narvaez and De Soto, practically unknown.

Among the latter, the most important tribe, and the one which most severely harassed the troops of Narvaez and, with the exception of the people of Mauvila, offered the fiercest opposition to the advance of De Soto's army, was the Apalache. The province of this tribe embraced the region about what is now known as Appalachee Bay, and probably included the greater part of Chattahoochee River basin. The chief town of the tribe, also called Apalache, was located a short distance north of the bay, not far from the site of Tallahassee, the capital of the state; and the boundary between this province and the territory of the Timuquanan family at the time of De Soto's passage is supposed to have been Aucilla River.

For a time the ethnic position of this warlike tribe was considered doubtful, the name having been used by the early writers in such widely different senses as to render its proper application uncertain; but a careful study by linguists of local names and the little left on record in regard to its history subsequent to De Soto's visit has resulted in the settled conviction that it pertained to the great Muskogean family of the Gulf states. Dr. A. S. Gatschet, who devoted considerable time to the study of this linguistic group, concludes that this tribe, together with the Hitchiti and Mikasuki, formed a dialectic group of the family, distinct from the well-known Creek division. Their history is brief; however, it is known that even before their fierce contests with Narvaez and the adelantado's army they had become famous among the surrounding tribes for their intrepidity and valor; and although Narvaez, like De Soto, fought his way through their territory, both were harassed by them at every step; they even burned their own towns to prevent them from being used by the Spaniards as resting places. The people were agriculturists, living chiefly upon

the products of the soil; and when De Soto's army arrived in the province, they found cultivated fields on every side bearing plentiful crops of maize, beans, pumpkins, and cucumbers.

Notwithstanding their early renown, but little has been recorded concerning their subsequent story. It is known that in 1638 they were at war with the Spanish colonists, but were soon defeated by the Governor of Florida and forced to retreat to their own country, and that in 1688 several of the chiefs oppressed with taxes joined in a letter of complaint to Charles II. of Spain concerning the exactions of their governors. In 1705, most of the tribe, because of the frequent raids upon their settlements by the Alibamu, fled to the French colony on Mobile River and were granted seed for planting, and settled by Bienville between the Mobilian and the Tehome tribes. The tribe is now extinct.

When, on the 25th of June, 1564, the French, under the command of René Laudonnière, landed at the mouth of St. John's River, then called River May, where Ribault had landed before him, they were welcomed with joyful greetings by the same chief who had met them with friendly demonstrations at their first visit. It was in the territory of this chief, named Sauriwa, whose dominion included the country about the mouth of St. John's River and extended northward along the coast nearly to the Savannah, and whose authority was acknowledged by thirty subchiefs, that they had planned to form their settlement. Although this native ruler was somewhat surprised at the bold proceedings of these white-faced visitants when he saw them commence the erection of a fort, yet the work was allowed to proceed without objection, and pledges of friendship and mutual assistance were exchanged. However, a little later, when the French governor refused to aid him in his war with Outina, a powerful chief whose province lay further up the river toward the interior, Sauriwa was much offended at Laudonnière for having failed to keep his pledge.

Notwithstanding this threatened breach, the French governor managed to renew friendly relations; and when Dominique de Gourgues came, three years later, to take vengeance on the Spaniards for destroying the Huguenot settlement, Satoriwa eagerly aided him with all his forces. The cruelty of the Spaniards under Menendez had made him their implacable enemy.

Outina—or Olata Utina—was courted by Laudonnière because it was believed he held the road to “Apalatacy Mountains,” where it was reported gold could be obtained. This chief lent a willing ear to these overtures, because adjoining his territory, in the direction of these mountains, lay the province of Potanu, a paracousy—or head chief—with whom he was at war, and against whom he hoped to engage the French; which, by shrewd management, he ultimately accomplished.

Although we enter now upon the beginning of that era when the intercourse between the races was to be continuous, but little more has been recorded in reference to the other tribes of Florida at that early date than their names and brief notices of some of their chiefs. Here and there an incident is mentioned which serves to break the monotony, but the narratives of the explorers are chiefly devoted to the search for the eldorado where gold was to be obtained in rich abundance; to the struggles to obtain food, and the contests with other European adventurers for possession. What little is ascertained in regard to the Indians is gathered chiefly from the memoirs and accounts of the short-lived French colony; those of the Spanish occupancy and permanent settlement which followed; and from the personal narrative of Fontaneda and brief notes by Barcia. To these, however, must be added the work on the *Lengua Timuquana* by Francesco Pareja, which has come down as a precious waif to modern linguists. From these and subsequent investigations it is now known that the eastern and most of the central portions of Florida were occupied by various tribes belonging to the Timuquanan stock.

Although Las Casas tells us that when Europeans began to visit Florida they found it peopled by numerous well-ordered and civilized nations, the modern writer (Brinton, *Florida Penin.*, iii) who comments on this assertion by the statement that, on the contrary, they found the land sparsely peopled by a barbarous and quarrelsome race of savages, rent asunder into manifold petty clans, goes rather too far toward the other extreme. That the natives were divided into petty clans is true, as was generally true of the coast Indians northward to the Potomac; nevertheless, there seems to have been some kind of organization. Instead of well-defined tribes there were confederacies, each governed by a paracousy, or head chief; the subdivisions, usually corresponding with the towns, were each governed by subchiefs. The prevailing language, however, was the Timuqua, of which, according to Pareja, there were some six or seven dialects.

Laudonnière mentions, in the course of his narrative, five head chiefs, as follows: the three—Saturiwa, Utina, and Potanu—already referred to, and Onethcaqua and Hostaquá. To these should be added, unless it be another form of one of the names given, that of Urribarracuxi,—or Hurripacuxi,—mentioned by De Soto's chroniclers, whose territory embraced most of the western part of the peninsula. In later times the cacique of this province resided at a village on Old Tampa Bay, called Tocobaga or Tocabaja. Fontaneda (Ternaux, *Compans Recueil*, xx, 20) names the chief in his day Toco-Baja-Chile. It is possible that the Hostaquá mentioned here should be identified with the Westos of South Carolina, as their name is given as "Ous-tack" as early as 1672 by John Lederer, who, though an unreliable authority, must have heard it. If this identification be correct, it will indicate that the Timuquanan stock extended northward to Savannah River.

When the French first went to visit Utina, they stopped on the way, and were entertained by Mollua, a subchief, who mentioned as his friends and allies Cadecha, Chilili,

Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Acquara, and Muquoso, all subchiefs and vassals of Utina. It is somewhat puzzling to find in this list Muquoso, evidently the friendly Mucoso of De Soto's chroniclers; and Acquara, another name mentioned by them as belonging to the western confederacy. However, it proves that the Timuquanan territory extended to the west coast of the peninsula.

As the early writers failed to mark the distinction between the names of chiefs and the names of tribes or provinces, that of the chief being used for both, we know the tribes or confederacies, and the people thereof, only by the names given the chiefs. The same thing applies generally to the minor divisions, the names of the subchiefs being the same as those of the towns they governed. It is only by bearing in mind this loose method of the early authors in the use of names that we can properly interpret their writings.

That wars were being constantly carried on between the head chiefs and peoples of the different provinces is shown by what has already been mentioned, and additional evidence might be adduced; but wars between the towns or subchiefs of the same confederacy seem to have been rare, the latter, as abundantly proved by the records, always responding promptly to the call of the provincial ruler for the assembling of his forces.

Besides the members of the Timuquanan family and the Apalache tribe, there were some two or three small tribes located about the southern extremity of the peninsula which do not appear to have been ethnically related to the Timuquanan group. One of these, the Tegesta, or Tequesta, occupied the Atlantic side; the other, the Calusa, dwelt on the Gulf side. It is probable that Ponce de Leon's landing place on his second expedition was in the territory of one of these tribes, most likely the latter. The name Calusa, according to Fontaneda, signifies "cruel village," being so named, he asserts, "because the inhabitants are barbarous and very skilful in the use of arms." He includes as one

of their villages Tampa, but at the time of De Soto's visit this appears to have been under the authority of Ucita, a Timuquanan chieftain.

In addition to these there was a tribe of people called "Ais Indians," living on the east coast about Cape Canaveral. Their territory formed the northern part of the province of Tequesta, and though considered distinct they may have been related to that tribe. Muspa is given as the name of a small tribe located near Boca Grande, from whence they were driven to the Keys; however, the name Muspa is included by Fontaneda in his list of Calusa towns; but some, at least, of this author's statements must be received with caution.

After the French had been finally expelled, and the Spaniards came into full control under Pedro Menendez de Aviles as adelantado, there was—so far as the history of that period has been recorded—almost constant friction between them and the Indians. There seems, however, if Williams (*The Territory of Florida*, 175) be correct, to have been a brief period of quiet soon after Menendez entered earnestly upon the work of building up the Spanish colony. Having appointed De las Alas as his substitute while absent in Spain, the latter despatched embassies to all the tribes for some distance to the west and north of St. Augustine, now established as the seat of authority. "In this he was so successful," says the writer quoted, "that all the tribes east of the Appalachicola River received into their towns Spanish garrisons, and many Spanish families to instruct the Indians." This harmonious condition, if it existed, lasted but for a short time, as it appears from a statement by Torquemada (*Mon. Ind. Lib.*, xix, cap. xx) that about the time St. Augustine was sacked by Drake [1568], the soldiers, owing to the hostile attitude of the Indians, did not dare to leave the fort even to hunt and fish.

Nevertheless, by persistent efforts of the Church, increase in the number of priests, and the adoption of more persuasive measures, beneficial results began to show themselves

about 1595, and ultimately the natives were converted. A considerable season of rest seems to have followed, but Spanish oppression caused a revolt about 1687; and in 1706 the native Timuquanans, being greatly reduced in numbers, yielded to the attacks of the Yamasi Indians, the last remnant withdrawing to Mosquito Lagoon in what is now Volusia County. With this their history ends, and soon thereafter they became extinct as a people. Before the curtain drops on this close of the first scene in the great drama, let us record one brief and simple statement which appears like a bright spark amid the dying embers. We are informed that the successor of Sauriwa, the true and faithful friend of the French, was Casicola, "lord of ten thousand Indians" and ruler of all the land "between St. Augustine and St. Helena."—(Brinton, *Fl. Pen.*, 120.) But numbers availed them not, the folds of the destroyer were fast tightening about them, and, ere the century had passed, the places which knew them once knew them no more; tyranny and oppression had accomplished their work. They come before us more as a vision than as a living reality. The only links which connect them with the present are the fragments of their language which have been preserved—precious relics of the past from which we may gather some faint echoes of their thoughts and ambitions.

Through the repeated attacks by the Spaniards, slave capturing, and the incursions of Muskhogean bands, the other small tribes of southern Florida were ultimately exterminated, the only monuments of their former existence being found in a few local names.

The customs of the Florida Indians were, in general, the same as those of the Indians of the southern coast and Gulf states. Their towns were usually surrounded by wooden stockades made of upright posts fixed in the ground, having a single opening where the ends overlapped, which, according to the figures given in De Bry, was precisely the form of the village fortifications along the Carolina and Virginia coasts. However, the houses in Florida, according to Le Moyne's

figures, were, with the exception of the chiefs' dwellings and the council houses, circular in form with thatched roofs, while those further north were oblong.

A statement in Laudonnière's account of the second voyage indicates that succession to the chieftaincy was, at least in some instances, determined by election and not always by descent. Having on one occasion taken Utina prisoner in order to bring him to terms, the subjects of the latter, supposing he would be slain, decided to install a successor. "The father-in-law of Utina set one of the king's young sonnes upon the royal throne; and tooke such paynes that every man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to have been the cause of great troubles among them. For there was a kinsman of the king's neere adioynning, which pretended a title to the kingdom, and indeede he had gotten part of the subjects; notwithstanding this enterprize could not take effect, forasmuch as by common consent of the chiefs, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succeed the father than any other."

The cruel treatment by the Indians of their prisoners and the shocking mutilation of the slain are described with particularity by the narratives and rather too vividly, though possibly truly, drawn by the pencil of Le Moyne. The details are too gross and inhuman to be given. Our sympathies may be with the natives when ill-treated by the whites; but the closing scenes of their conflicts, such as that pictured by Le Moyne, have a tendency to cool such feelings.

It is probable that the advent of the French was, on the whole, injurious to the Indians of Florida rather than beneficial. Notwithstanding occasional conflicts, the French here, as elsewhere, had the art of making friends of the Indians with whom they were forced to enter into relations. Their intercourse with the tribes of Florida, though thus generally friendly, had a tendency to embitter the latter against the Spaniards; and hatred was left as a legacy to the latter when the French departed.

The Timuquanan group presents some interesting questions difficult to answer entirely satisfactorily. That the group constitutes a distinct stock in itself is unquestionable, if language be taken as the test; but in what direction its affinities lie, so far as a linguistic stock may be said to have affinities, has not as yet been pointed out. In other words, lying nearest the West Indies, which was peopled from South America, the question arises: Is this group also of South American origin, or was its priscan home in the north? Dr. Gatschet, who made a careful study of the remaining data relating to the family, decided that it shows no radical affinity either to the Muskhogean stock of the Southern states, or to the Cariban or Arawakan stocks of South America and the West Indies. But the data furnished by him, and other data which might be added, point rather to the south than to the north as the original home of the stock. So far as the vocabularies are concerned, the Timuqua presents more resemblances to the languages of South America, especially to the Arawak, than to those north of Florida; even the brief comparison made by Dr. Gatschet in his paper on the language read before the American Philosophical Society [1880], to which other examples might be added, shows this. While their manners and customs were in a general sense similar to those of the Indians of the Southern states, there were some respects in which they differed from all the surrounding tribes. Several authorities, as Hervas, Payne, etc., have claimed that the Caribs made early settlements in Florida, yet there are reasons for the now generally accepted view that these Indians were of northern origin, though there is some evidence of contact with South American stocks. This belief in a northern origin seems to be strengthened by the results recently obtained in exploring the mounds of the Florida coast.

The destruction of the Timuquanan and other original tribes of Florida was not the end of Indian history in the peninsular province. One of those occasional though

rather infrequent occurrences, the formation of a new tribe out of heterogeneous elements, took place in the peninsula. When the formation commenced is uncertain; possibly the fugitive elements, chiefly from the Muskogean group, began to seek hiding places in this region as early as the close of the sixteenth century, but it was not until the eighteenth century that they came prominently into notice. This body, which was known as the Seminoles, consisted at first of Creek refugees who had been driven from the tribe because of crime or insubordination, or had left the organization for the purpose of leading a wilder and freer life than was possible in their own tribe. The number was increased by the refugee Yamasis, whom Governor Craven had driven from South Carolina into the arms of their enemies, the Spaniards of Florida, after the revolt of 1715. Additions were also made from the Hitchiti towns and by negroes who had escaped from their masters and fled to the Everglades for concealment. A considerable number was added by those who, unwilling to surrender to General Jackson after his conquest of the Creeks, fled to Florida.

In 1817, border warfare broke out between the Seminoles and the settlers on the frontiers of Georgia. General Jackson was sent against them. However, this war, chiefly because of international complications, was soon ended.

The peninsula having come into the possession of the United States in 1821, the next step was to rid it of the Indians who occupied the land. It was decided that this should be done by honest purchase. A treaty was made with the Seminoles, by which the latter agreed to relinquish the greater part of their lands and retire to the centre of the peninsula, the government agreeing on its part to pay them certain annuities, to take them under its care, and to protect them in their rights. The Seminoles further agreed to remove to the west at the expiration of twenty years after the date of the treaty. Before the completion of the twenty years, the call by the settlers for their removal became so urgent that another treaty was

made, by which, in consideration of additional payments, they agreed to move in three years, one third each year. However, when the time for departure arrived they suddenly disappeared with their women and children, the latter being removed to a place so well hidden that all efforts of the whites to locate it were futile.

Outrages upon the settlers now began to be perpetrated by the Indians, and were carried on to such an extent that war upon them became necessary. Major Dade was sent against them with two companies, in December, 1835, only to be exterminated, but three of the number remaining to tell the tale of the disaster. General Gaines followed, and one officer after another was sent in rapid succession to bring the war to a close; but the strength of the Seminoles seemed to increase as the war progressed. Runaway negroes, criminals, and outlaws from other tribes fled to the Everglades to join in the carnival of strife and blood; another attraction was the renown of the great Seminole chieftain Osceola. The raids upon the settlements were now so constant and destructive, that the people, panic-stricken, fled to the forts and other strongholds for protection. They were reduced to such straits that Congress deemed it necessary to come to their relief. General Jessup, one of the several officers sent to the peninsula to reduce the hostiles to submission, goaded almost to desperation by the public clamor for the speedy conclusion of the war, condescended to an expedient that will ever rest as a blot upon his otherwise honorable record. Believing Osceola to be the life and soul of the rebellion, he managed to bring about a conference on October 21, 1837, which was attended by this chieftain and seventy-five of his followers, under a flag of truce. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he caused the unsuspecting chief and his followers to be seized and made prisoners, regardless of the sacredness of the pledge under which they had ventured to the conference. The betrayed chief, through confinement and grief, died within a year from the date of his capture. The

storm of denunciation which followed this act of treachery compelled the withdrawal of General Jessup.

General Zachary Taylor was next placed in command, and several other officers followed in rapid succession, until the command was placed in the hands of General William J. Worth, who finally succeeded in bringing the long-drawn-out contest to a close. The end came in 1842, after an almost continuous war of ten years, an expenditure of forty million dollars, and the loss of hundreds of valuable lives. Yet the strength of the tribe at its most prosperous day did not exceed some eleven or twelve hundred warriors.

They were, with the exception of a small remnant, removed to the reservation provided for them in Indian Territory. The number, according to the census of 1890, was 2,739, of which two hundred were still in southern Florida. It is a somewhat singular fact that this conglomerate group, composed at first of the worst elements of the native population of the southeastern section, has become an organized body and advanced toward civilization to such an extent that it is now counted by the Indian Bureau as one of the "five civilized tribes" of Indian Territory that are no longer under control of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

It is most appropriate to notice in this connection the Indians of southern Georgia, or at least two tribes of that section which came into temporary prominence. One of these, the Yamacraw, was a little tribe of Muskogean affinity; the other, the Uchee tribe, constituted a distinct family. Although having no direct connection with the Florida Indians, they form the intermediate step geographically in passing to the great Muskogee group proper.

The tribe of Yamacraw—the people of the celebrated chief Tomochichi—was one of brief existence. Their location, when they first became known to the whites, was on the banks of Savannah River, near the site of the present city of Savannah. The formation of the tribe appears to have antedated the appearance of Oglethorpe and

his colonists but a few years. It was made up of Lower Creeks who had followed Tomochichi when he—for some unknown reason—separated from his parental tribe, and of a number of Yamasis who had left their tribe. The evidence is clear that the tribe was not in existence in 1721, and equally clear that it was in existence in 1732, and consisted at that time of some thirty or forty men, indicating a population of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and sixty. In 1721, Tomochichi was still with his tribe, as he was one of the contracting parties to the "Articles of Friendship and Commerce," between Robert Johnson, Governor of South Carolina, and some of the Upper and Lower Creek towns, and signed on behalf of the town of "Pallachucolas" [Apalatchukla].

The history of the tribe consists of little more than the history of Tomochichi. He was the firm and always true friend of the whites, Governor Oglethorpe being his model. Though unable, because of age and infirmity, to accompany Governor Oglethorpe in his remarkable journey to Coweta in the heart of the Creek country, he, through messengers, obtained beforehand the promise of a favorable reception by the Creek chiefs. His death occurred in 1739, he being aged about ninety-seven years. His loss was mourned with equal sincerity by the Indians and whites. Very little is known in regard to the tribe after this; it is possible that some of the Creeks returned to their tribe, while the others joined the Yamasis and suffered their fate.

Another and more important body of Indians was that known as the Uchee or Yuchi tribe, occupying the region on both sides of Savannah River for some distance along its middle reach. According to the classification of Major J. W. Powell, they constituted a distinct stock or family, which he named Uchean. It was this tribe that De Soto found in 1540, under control of a caciqua, or chieftainess, with the seat of her government at Cutifachiqui, on Savannah River. The territory of the tribe appears to have extended at that time as far north as the headwaters of the

Savannah and for some distance below the site of Augusta, though in 1729 their territory extended southward nearly to the old town of Ebenezer, and as far west as Ogeechee River. The next indirect reference to them is in Juan de la Vandra's narrative [1569]; but no particulars are given, except that the ruler was a female, probably the same one who had entertained De Soto twenty-nine years before. Subsequently they abandoned their ancient seat and moved west to the country about Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers. This change of location appears to have been brought about through the marriage of a Creek [Cusseta] chieftain to three Uchee women, whom he brought to his town, where he induced the whole tribe to settle.

The main Uchee town was located on Chattahoochee River. William Bartram, who saw it in 1775, describes it as the largest, most compact, and best situated Indian town he saw during his travels over the Southern states.

This tribe does not appear to have figured in history to any notable extent as distinct from the Creeks. Although maintaining rigidly their separate organization, they always united with the latter against a common enemy, but do not appear to have warred separately against the whites, nor did the United States ever make any separate treaty with them. When the Creeks were removed to the west of the Mississippi, they were removed with them, though they occupied a separate town on Arkansas River.

The people called "Apalaches" with whom the colonists of South Carolina had some contests were Uchees, and not the Apalaches of northwestern Florida. The so-called "Savannas" and "Savannucas" located on the lower Savannah River were also Uchees.

The people of this tribe, which at an early day was probably the strongest organization in Georgia, were apparently the most advanced in culture of any natives of the Southern states. Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent among the Creeks, in his *Sketch of the Creek Country* [1799], says the Uchees were more civil, orderly, and industrious than

their neighbors, the Lower Creeks; the men more attached to their wives, and these more chaste. Some of the finest specimens of pottery found in the Southern states have been obtained from the sites of their towns on the Chattahoochee. Hawkins estimated the number of their warriors in 1799 at two hundred and fifty, giving a total population of about one thousand persons. Major J. W. Powell, in the *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* [1891], gives the number of those in Indian Territory as somewhat over six hundred.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC COLONIES

(I) VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

IN attempting to follow the history of the Indians in their relations with the whites, the political history of the colonies is only incidental thereto, and only enters into the scope of such history so far as it directly affects these relations. Arbitrary or political boundary lines established by the colonies or the controlling government bore but little relation to tribal limits or the boundaries of native provinces, and were but slightly regarded by the Indians until the power of the white colonists had come into the ascendancy. We find it necessary, therefore, in order to avoid breaking the history of the natives of the different sections into disconnected fragments, to take up these sections separately. It is true that any grouping with relation to areas will bring together native elements belonging to different stocks; nevertheless, there are more direct historical relations between the parts of different stocks which have long resided in the same region than between portions of the same family which have been long separated. It is apparent that the Powhatan confederacy, which belonged to the great Algonquian family, was far more intimately connected, historically, with the Iroquoian and Siouan tribes in the same region than with the Cheyenne or Ojibwa tribes of the same stock living in the distant Northwest.

The natives included in the division here designated "The Southern Atlantic Colonies" were the Powhatan

and other Algonquin tribes of Virginia and Maryland; that portion of the Siouan stock which formerly resided in Virginia and the Carolinas; and the Iroquoian tribes of Virginia and North Carolina which came in contact with the British settlements on the southern coast.

The first attempt to plant a colony on the shores of this part of North America was made by expeditions sent out by Raleigh. Of these it is only necessary for us to notice here what relates to the natives; we turn, therefore, to Hariot and With, or White, the historian and the artist of the expedition of 1585, to learn from them what information they obtained in regard to the Indians of the region in the vicinity of Roanoke Island, where the settlement was to begin.

While it is evident that White used his imagination to a considerable extent in drawing his figures, yet they bear on their face strong indications of being based on fact, and have subsequently been confirmed in so many particulars, that they are now generally accepted as setting forth substantially what they attempt to show. In his map, he places the province of Weapemeoc at the north along the coast; Chawanok to the northwest on Chowan River; Secotan at the south on the coast; and the Mangoaks in the interior to the west,—names and positions subsequently confirmed. He also locates most of the towns named in the narrative, which are figured as surrounded with stockades of upright posts planted in the ground, the only opening being formed by the overlapping at the ends. The houses are represented as oblong, with rounded roofs; the walls were formed of posts and crossbeams covered with bark. The clothing of the natives consisted of mantles and aprons of deerskin. According to Hariot, they not only cultivated maize and tobacco, but also beans, apparently the so-called butter beans, peas,—probably another variety of beans,—pumpkins, melons and gourds, which they included under the one name, “macocquer,” and the sunflower.

A recent writer, speaking of the natives of this section, says: “The great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in

the want of political connection. A single town often constituted a government; a collection of ten or twenty wigwams was an independent state."—(Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, i, 98.) That the political condition of the Indians of the coast regions from the Savannah to the Potomac has been and still is, to some extent, a problem difficult to solve is true. We have in a preceding chapter alluded to the loose confederacies of Florida, but in a large portion of the region now under consideration it seems that the union was almost entirely broken. Nevertheless, we gather from the narratives some indications of combination; for example, it is stated in the account of the first voyage that three of the chiefs, though independent, were in league, although the fortified towns indicate a state of warfare. It is now known that these small tribes belonged to the Algonquian family; and judging by data obtained in regard to them, they appear to have been more nearly related to those of the Powhatan group than to any other division of the family, and possibly had formerly been included in it.

We pass now from the tentative stage of British occupancy to the permanent. Although Raleigh's attempts to found an empire on the western continent had failed, the fire he kindled was not wholly extinguished; and before he died the great work of his life had been accomplished—an English colony had been firmly planted on the American continent. In the letters patent granted by James I., April 10, 1606, to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, the following is the only reference to the Indians in the copy given by Stith (*Appendix to the History of Virginia*):

We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government. . . .

When the whites appeared on the scene, the eastern portion of Virginia, from the coast back to the line of waterfalls from the Potomac to Albemarle Sound, was occupied by numerous small Algonquin tribes; those north of James River to the Potomac and beyond this to the Patuxent in Maryland were included in the Powhatan confederacy, or at least were under the sway of Powhatan at the time of the settlement at Jamestown. West of these, extending to the Blue Ridge, were a number of tribes belonging to other stocks; as the Manahoac group or confederacy, immediately south of the Potomac; and south of these, the Monacan and other Siouan tribes. The only other family represented was the Iroquoian, by the Managoak, or Nottoway, and the Meherrin tribes in the southern part of the state. Whether the Algonquin Indians south of James River were in any way connected politically with those of the Powhatan confederacy is not known.

With the exception of a slight attack by a few straggling natives before the final landing of the immigrants who settled Jamestown, the first reception was a friendly one, though not accompanied by any exuberant expressions of joy at the meeting. Shortly after the site for the settlement had been selected, Captain Newport, who had commanded the ships, and John Smith, accompanied by twenty others, ascended James River to the residence of Powhatan. The village, which was his residence at that time, consisted of twelve houses and was situated on a hill overlooking the stream, a short distance below the present site of Richmond. A royal residence for an "emperor" who held sway over "thirty-two nations"! The voyagers were kindly received and hospitably treated by the wily chief, who, no doubt, fully apprised of all that had happened, had determined upon his plan of action. The hint appears to have been understood by his people; for on their return the English were accorded a kind welcome wherever they stopped, by which they were lulled into fancied security, though the constant watchfulness of Smith secured them

against treachery; yet during their absence the settlement at Jamestown had been attacked by the Indians in full force, and was saved rather by a favorable accident which frightened them than by the valor of the besieged. A crossbow shot from one of the ships chanced to cut off a branch of a tree, which fell among the Indians, who were so terrified by this, to them, strange phenomenon that they fled in all directions, probably imagining that it was the result of the invisible power they believed the English possessed.

It is probable that Powhatan, being apprised of the coming of Newport and Smith, had planned this attack during their absence.

Newport having sailed for England, the colonists, in addition to the evils resulting from disunion and bad management, were soon reduced to the utmost straits for provisions. Fortunately, and as Stith, strong in faith, puts it, "God wrought so wonderful a Change in the Hearts of the Indians, that they brought such Plenty of their Fruits and Provisions, as no Man wanted." But it was chiefly by the indomitable will and tireless energy of Smith that the colony was not only saved from disruption, but procured provisions from the Indians when the supply ran short.

At length, while exploring the country along the Chickahominy, by the failure of his companions to carry out his instructions, they were ambushed by Opechancanough, brother to Powhatan, and all slain except Smith, who was taken prisoner. By displaying a pocket compass and amusing the Indians with an explanation of its powers, and trying to explain to them, by signs and the little knowledge of their language he had obtained, the movements of the heavenly bodies, he escaped immediate death and was carried in triumph through their towns.

And first, they carried him to those that dwelt on Youghthanund, or as it is now called Pamunkey River: For the main river, which is since named York River, was then called Pamunkey, altho' the country of Pamunkey, over which Opechancanough was king, lay in the fork

of the river, and his chief seat was nearly where the Pamunkey town now is. From the Youghtanunds, they led him to the Mattaponies, the Piankatanks, the Nantaughtacunds on Rappahannock, and the Nomines, on Patowmac River: And having passed him over all those rivers, they brought him back, thro' several other nations, to Opechan-canough's habitation at Pamunkey, where, with frightful howlings, and many strange and hellish ceremonies, they conjured him three days to know, as they told, whether he intended them well or ill.—(Stith, 53.)

After making the tour of most of the tribes acknowledging the authority of Powhatan, Smith was brought before this chief at Werowocomico [Gloucester County], at that time his principal residence. Here occurred Smith's rescue from death by Pocahontas, which has been so often told. Even the staid and sober historian Burk, whose epitomized account we copy rather than the more profuse one by Smith, cannot refrain from the tincture of romance.

A consultation of the emperor and his council having taken place, it was adjudged expedient to put Smith to death, as a man whose superior courage and genius made him peculiarly dangerous to the safety of the Indians. The decision being made known to the attendants of the emperor, preparations immediately commenced for carrying it into execution, by means as simple and summary as the nature of the trial.

Two large stones were brought in, and placed at the feet of the emperor; and on them was laid the head of the prisoner: Next a large club was brought in, with which Powhatan, for whom, out of respect, was reserved this honor, prepared to crush the head of his captive. The assembly looked on with sensations of awe, probably not unmixed with pity for the fate of an enemy whose bravery had commanded their admiration; and in whose misfortunes, their hatred was possibly forgotten.

The fatal club was uplifted: The breasts of the company already by anticipation, felt the dreadful crash, which was to bereave the wretched victim of life; when the young and beautiful Pocahontas, the beloved daughter of the emperor, with a shriek of terror and agony, threw herself on the body of Smith. Her hair was loose, and her eyes streaming with tears, while her whole manner bespoke the deep distress and agony of her bosom. She cast a beseeching look at her furious and astonished father, deprecating his wrath, and imploring his pity and the life of his prisoner, with all the eloquence of mute but impassioned sorrow.

The remainder of this scene is honorable to the character of Powhatan : It will remain a lasting monument, that tho' different principles of action and the influence of custom have given to the manners and opinions of this people an appearance neither amiable nor virtuous, they still retain the noblest property of the human character, the touch of pity and the feeling of humanity.

The club of the emperor was still uplifted ; but pity had touched his bosom, and his eye was every moment losing its fierceness : He looked round to collect his fortitude, or perhaps to find an excuse for his weakness in the faces of his attendants : But every eye was suffused with the sweetly contagious softness. The generous savage no longer hesitated. The compassion of the rude state is neither ostentatious nor dilatory ; nor does it insult its object by the exaction of impossible conditions ; Powhatan lifted his grateful and delighted daughter ; and the captive scarcely yet assured of safety, from the earth.

Notwithstanding the general acceptance of this romantic tale, it has been seriously questioned, with a considerable show of reason for the doubt ; however, if stripped of its embellishments and reduced simply to one of those frequent instances where Indian women have saved the lives of white prisoners, the story may be accepted as true. The rescue of Juan Ortez, whom De Soto found in the wilds of Florida and made his interpreter, will then form an exact parallel, as he was on the point of being put to death when he was saved by the "lovely" daughter of a chief.

Although, according to Stith, the hereditary provinces of Powhatan were only Powhatan and Arrahattucks, to which he had added Werowocomico and Chiskiack, between Williamsburg and York, he had, by conquest, reduced under his power the numerous tribes that inhabited the spacious country between James River, from its mouth to the falls, and northward to the Patuxent, in Maryland.

A desultory warfare with some intervals of peace continued up to 1613, when Pocahontas was married to John Rolfe with the consent of her father and of her uncle Opatisco, the latter witnessing the ceremony and giving away the bride. Thereupon peace was confirmed between the whites and the Indians ; and the Chickahominies, a bold and independent people who had manfully resisted the

efforts of Powhatan to subdue them, now voluntarily submitted to English authority, with the proviso that they should be allowed to retain their laws and form of government, which offer was gladly accepted.

Powhatan died in 1618. Pocahontas, who had gone to England and, for a time, was the curiosity and idol of the Londoners, had died during the previous year. Powhatan, whose original name was Wahunsonacock, was, in some respects, a prominent figure in the Indian history of our country; however, the brief sketch of his character by Stith is more nearly correct than Burk's eulogium: "A prince of excellent sense and parts and a great master of all the savage arts of government and policy. He was penetrating, crafty, insidious, and cruel; and as hard to be deceived by others as to be avoided in his own stratagems and snares. But as to the great and moral arts of policy, such as truth, faith, uprightness, and magnanimity, they seem to have been but little regarded by him." However, as a leader and ruler he must have possessed considerable ability. He is described as in person tall and well proportioned, exceedingly vigorous, and possessing a body capable of undergoing great hardships; but his countenance was clouded with an air of sadness. Starting with control, by inheritance, of two small tribes which were surrounded by numerous other small tribes or bands, he succeeded in bringing the latter under his authority, and held a firm and almost despotic sway over them until his death. Proud of his position, he maintained it with dignity even under the most trying encounters with the civilized whites.

A single incident in Powhatan's life will serve to illustrate his character as portrayed by Stith. For some reason, which Smith says was unknown, he became offended at the people of "Payankatank," or Piankatank, who were his neighbors and subjects. Determining to punish them, he sent several of his men to lodge with them on the night he meant to fall upon them. Then secretly surrounding

them while they were sleeping in their wigwams, he broke in upon them and commenced a horrid slaughter. Twenty-four men were killed and scalped, as if hereditary foes, and the women and children were carried away prisoners. The scalps of the slaughtered Indians were exhibited at Powhatan's village upon a line between two trees as evidence of his prowess, and the captured chief and his wife were made the "emperor's" servants.

He was succeeded by Opitchapan, his second brother, but the latter being decrepit, inactive, and wanting in energy, the helm of power was really in the hands of his younger brother, Opechancanough, who was an energetic and ambitious man and an adept at dissimulation. Opechancanough had another qualification, however, which endeared him to his people—his deep-rooted and deadly hatred of the English; this had been kept in restraint by Powhatan, but after his death Opechancanough immediately began to lay his plans for the destruction of the objects of his hatred. Four years had nearly expired, when the storm which had been brewing under his secret machinations broke forth. Nearly all the tribes of the confederacy were engaged in the conspiracy, yet not a single man betrayed the confidence reposed in him or uttered a word to excite suspicion; friendly dealings with the colonists proceeded as usual up to the morning of the day which had been fixed for the contemplated attack. The hosts had silently gathered at the appointed places. The signal was given at midday, March 22, 1622, when instantly the various bodies rushed forth from their places of concealment, shouting the warwhoop, and began the work of death. All they met were mercilessly massacred without regard to age or sex, their savage cruelty extending even to the bodies of the slain, which they mangled and mutilated. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, including six members of the council, were slain. Chance alone saved the colony from extermination; a converted Indian named Chanco having made known the plot to his employer the

night before, the latter spread the news as far as he was able to do in the short time allowed.

On several plantations, however, which the information given by Chanco had not reached, the Indians were repulsed by the courage of the proprietors, in some instances by the firing of a single gun.

Though fortunate for the colonists, yet, as we read the incidents of this outbreak, we are astonished at the want of courage and the complete cowardice of the Indians, a fact which illustrates the character of these Indians and serves to explain their actions on other occasions. Compare their conduct in this respect with the bravery and obstinate courage of the Indians of the Apalache, Mauvila, and other tribes that resisted De Soto's army. Even the Indian women of the south, as the chronicler informs us, exhibited greater bravery.

As the colonists found it impossible to follow the Indians and punish them in their hiding places, they adopted the same policy that the latter had practised. Pretending a desire for reconciliation and peace, they invited the Indians to a conference, with assurances of safety and forgiveness. The offer was accepted and the conference held. Returning to their former habitations, the Indians entered upon their usual vocations, relying upon the assurances of reconciliation. By this means the English acquired a knowledge of the "Indians' principal places of residence and quieted their apprehensions." Having waited quietly and in apparently friendly relations until the crop had grown to maturity and was about ready to be harvested, they decided that the time had arrived for retribution. The various villages were suddenly attacked without any warning, and an indiscriminate slaughter took place, "without regard," says one authority, "to age, sex, or infancy."—(Burk.) Stith says a great number of them were slain, among whom were some of their "kings." Their houses were burned and their crops destroyed. The colonists were avenged, but with the loss of honor. The next year, the Assembly,

as if to still further disgrace the colony, issued an order that the inhabitants of every plantation should fall upon their adjoining savages.

Desultory war continued between the natives and the colonists the greater portion of the time up to 1644, when the Indians, having learned of the dissensions of the English, resolved on one more attempt to exterminate them. They hoped that by destroying the cattle and corn they might waste by famine those they failed to murder by surprise. The same moving spirit was directing this attempt that had planned the massacre twenty-two years before. Opechancanough, though now enfeebled by age, had not abated in the least his hatred of the English. On the 18th day of April, 1644, the time appointed for the attack, the Indians suddenly fell upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the bloody work begun, when, as it is supposed, the thought of their inability to complete it and of the consequences to themselves likely to follow, or possibly because of some evil omen, they suddenly abandoned their purpose and fled to a distance from the colony. Three hundred of the settlers fell victims in this onset. The English, now thoroughly aroused, took prompt measures for defence, and at once began a vigorous war against the natives. Opechancanough, who, because of age, was unable to escape with the others, was easily captured, and soon thereafter died in captivity, possibly, as reported, from wounds inflicted by a soldier. He was succeeded by Necotowance, who, desirous of obtaining rest for his people, entered into a treaty of peace with the colonists and was assigned certain lands for himself and his people. According to an act of the Assembly, October 10, 1649, it was decreed:

Act 1, Art. 2. That it shall be free for the said Necotowance "King" of the Indians and his people, to inhabit and hunt on the north side of Yorke River, without any interruption from the English. Provided that if hereafter, It shall be thought fitt by the Governor and Council to permitt any English to inhabit from Poropotanke downwards, that first Necotowance be acquainted therewith.

Art. 3. That Necotowance and his people leave free that tract of land between Yorke River and James River, from the falls of both the rivers to Kequotan, to the English to inhabit on, and that neither he the said Necotowance nor any Indians do repaire to or make any abode upon the said tract of land, upon pain of death.

Notwithstanding the bitter state of feeling between the Virginia settlers and the Indians, the Assembly was not wholly forgetful of the welfare of the latter; and in order to secure their possessions against being encroached upon by the whites, laws were passed in 1655, 1657, and 1658, forbidding individual purchases of land from the Indians and making all such purchases null and void, and also forbidding settlement on Indian lands.

Numerous disputes having arisen between the English and Indians in regard to land purchases, and frequent complaints having been made by the latter of encroachments upon their territory, the following general law was passed in 1660:

Act 138. Whereas the mutuall discontents, complaints, jealousies and feares of English and Indians proceed chiefly from the violent intrusions of diverse English made into their lands, The governor, councill and burgesses . . . enact, ordaine and confirme that for the future noe Indian king or other shall upon any pretence alien and sell, nor noe English for any cause or consideration whatsoever purchase or buy any tract of land now justly claymed or actually possess by any Indian or Indians whatsoever; all such bargaines and sales hereafter made or pretended to be made being hereby declared to be invalid, voyd and null, any acknowledgement, surrender, law or custome formerly used to the contrary notwithstanding.

By the act of October 10, 1665, the bounds of the Indian territory on the south side of James River were fixed as follows: "From the heads of the southern branches of Blackwater to the Appomatuck Indians, and thence to the Manokin town." These were afterward more accurately defined.

After the death of Opechancanough, no chief of sufficient influence and authority to hold the Indians in confederation having arisen, an interval of peace followed. Several of the tribes retired westward; and those which remained, reduced

in numbers and wanting concert and broken in spirit, lingered on the frontiers and exchanged with the settlers their superfluous products.

The peace, however, was not destined to be continuous, as it was again broken in 1676. This disturbance is said to have been caused by a petty act of dishonesty; the Doegs, a small tribe, charged a planter with cheating them, and in retaliation stole his hogs. The Indians were pursued and some of them killed. They, in return, invaded the English settlement and killed four persons. Thereupon two English officers raised a small company and followed the enemy into Maryland and by mistake attacked a village of the friendly Susquehannas, killing fourteen. A desultory war on the frontiers now followed. The Indians, driven from Maryland, passed southward over the headwaters of Rappahannock and York Rivers, killing on the way such settlers of the frontier plantations as they found, until they reached the headwaters of James River. Here the Indians engaged in the outbreak, having gathered in a fort, determined to make a stand. Bacon, who had a plantation in the vicinity, and whose overseer had been slain, attacked them with a company he had collected. The fort was taken by assault, and a desperate slaughter ensued; the Indians, being huddled close together and encumbered by their old men and their women and children, were able to make but slight resistance. Those not slain during the assault were taken prisoners—and, as the historian tells us, “a termination was given forever to the hopes of the Indians in this quarter.” The accounts of this conflict are not only imperfect, but differ widely in details, therefore only that portion which appears to be reliable has been given.

Another and, as it appears, a final treaty of peace was made with the remaining natives, who had become aware of their inability to offer further resistance to the growing power of the colony.

What Virginia Indians, besides those of the Powhatan confederacy, were engaged in these outbreaks is not fully

known; there was, however, one incursion against which some of the Powhatan Indians joined the English. In 1656, a body of Indians called Richahecrians [Cherokees], to the number of six or seven hundred, descended from the mountains and settled themselves near the falls of James River. The colonists took measures at once to remove them. Colonel Hill was sent out for this purpose with one hundred men, aided by Totopotomoi, the Pamunkey chief, with a like number of Indians. These forces were defeated, and Totopotomoi and the greater part of his followers slain. John Lederer (*Discoveries*, 10, reprint) mentions the Mahocks and Nahyssan [Tutelo], both Siouan tribes of Virginia, as joined with the Richahecrians in the same battle against the colonists. By what means the retirement of the Richahecrians was brought about does not clearly appear, but we infer from one of the acts of the Assembly that it was by purchase.

The Manahoac Indians occupied the region about the headwaters of the Rappahannock, and were first met by John Smith, in 1608, who had a slight conflict with them, but this was soon followed by a reconciliation. Nothing important has been recorded in regard to them, and they appear to have dropped out of history at an early date; Drake (*Indians*, 12) says "extinct long ago."

The first notice of the Monacan and confederated tribes was also by Smith; they then occupied the country along James River above the falls; their principal village, Rasauweak, was situated in the fork of James and Rivanna Rivers. They are spoken of as barbarous, subsisting chiefly on the products of the chase and wild fruits. It is probable that they took part in the warfare between the whites and Indians from 1622 to 1645. In 1670, Lederer was received with friendly demonstrations at their village, known as "Monacan Town," situated on James River about twenty miles above the site of Richmond. In 1699, when a colony of French Huguenots took possession of this point, they had disappeared.

The members of the Iroquoian stock residing in Virginia were the Nottoways—the Mangoaks of the Raleigh expeditions—and the Meherrins. The former occupied the country along Blackwater and Nottoway Rivers in southeastern Virginia. The latter, who dwelt along the lower stretch of Meherrin River, were late comers into this region, being a remnant of the Susquehanna, or Conestoga Indians, who fled from their home in the north about 1675. The history of these tribes, so far as given, relates chiefly to their contests with the Saponi and some of the other Siouan tribes.

Burk (i, 312) summarizes the dealings of the London Company with the Indians in reference to their lands, as follows:

At the coming of the English, the Indians naturally enjoyed the best and most convenient stations for fishing, and the most fertile lands: But in proportion as new settlers came in, they rapidly lost those advantages. In some cases the colonists claimed by the right of conquest, and the imaginary title conferred by the king's charter. In general, however, they acted on better principles, and purchased from the heads of tribes, the right of soil, in a fair and [as far as was practicable] in a legal manner. In the treaty entered into between Sir G. Yeardley and Opechancanough, we find a sweeping clause, granting to the English permission to reside and inhabit at such places on the banks of certain rivers, which were not already occupied by the natives. 'Tis true, the circumstances of the parties admitted not a fair and legal purchase; and after the massacre, the Indians were stripped of their inheritance without the shadow of justice.

However, the particular transactions on which this verdict is based, as will appear from the items of history given herein, are not satisfactory on this point. It is only after the dissolution of the company in 1624, and the records of the General Assembly are reached, that the policy of Virginia in regard to the Indian title in the land appears. The acts mentioned above indicate a desire to provide homes for the friendly natives, and to prevent their being robbed of their acknowledged possessions, but it does not appear that the government deemed it necessary to purchase their possessory right.

The political organization of the Powhatan Indians, to which allusion has been made, is not fully understood. The confederacy is said to have consisted of thirty-two tribes; but were these "tribes" in any true sense? So far as known, all appear to have used the same language, few if any differences in dialect being mentioned. George Bancroft, using the works of Smith and Jefferson as his basis, estimates the aggregate number of warriors of these tribes at twenty-four hundred, an average of about eighty to a tribe. It is evident these must have been very small organizations, yet they seem to have had definite territories, or at least understood boundaries, each with its chief. However, the confederacy was limited by the controlling power of Powhatan, and, so far as known, was established and held together by his personal prowess. There does not appear to have been, as has been shown, any warring between the elements composing the Florida confederacies, but this rule certainly did not hold good in Virginia, at least at the initiation of Powhatan's control; yet when Opechancanough planned the attacks of 1622 and 1644, the various tribes of the confederacy seem to have been united, at any rate for the purpose in view.

The descent of the chieftaincy, both of the confederacy and, as a rule, of the tribes, was by inheritance in the female line; that is, having passed from brother to brother and sometimes to the sisters, it descended to the sons of the eldest sister, etc. In one of the lists of signatures of chiefs to treaties, the names of two females appear, showing clearly that it was not contrary to their political system for a female to be the ruler. There were, however, some differences in regard to the controlling power. The Chickahominy or Pamunkey tribe, one of the strongest of the Virginia Algonquins, was governed by a body of elders; and when, after the marriage of Pocahontas, they entered into a treaty of peace with the English, eight chief elders made themselves responsible for the execution of the stipulations on the part of the tribe. It is therefore probable that

Totopotomoi, who is spoken of as chief of the Pamunkey, was merely the war chief.

After the fatal encounter with Bacon's troop, the tribes seem to have gradually dropped out of history, a few slender remnants, as the Pamunkey, lingering around their ancient haunts; the others, retiring before the advance of the white settlements, gradually became extinct.

The subsequent relations between the Virginia authorities and the Indians were with tribes living beyond the bounds of the colony, whose history belongs to another chapter. It is necessary to mention here only a single item of this history.

The continual raids of the Iroquois on the Indians of Virginia and Carolina having become a source of much annoyance to the authorities, a treaty of peace was concluded at Albany, New York, in 1722, chiefly through the efforts of Governor Spotswood. This treaty was by the Iroquois and their allies on the one side, and Virginia and her tributary Indians, including those of Carolina, on the other side. The Blue Ridge and Potomac River east of the range were made the boundaries between the parties.

As the Indians of Maryland belonged chiefly to the Powhatan confederacy, attention will be called to them before considering the tribes of Carolina.

The charter of June 20, 1632, by Charles II., granting to Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, the province of Maryland, is somewhat peculiar in being a complete transfer of title from the Crown to the grantee, allegiance alone being required. By it the king's right of granting lands in the province was fully and completely transferred to Lord Baltimore and his heirs and assigns, without any reservation or exception in regard to the natives. It allowed him full and complete authority to deal with them in his own way.

Having appointed as his representative his younger brother, Leonard Calvert, the latter, accompanied by some three hundred emigrants, landed, on the 27th of March, 1634, on the north bank of the Potomac and planted themselves in the Indian town of Yoacomaco, probably

Wicomico, which they named St. Mary's. This, however, was with the consent of the inhabitants, who granted them the immediate use of half the village as a place of shelter, promising to leave the whole place to the English as soon as they had planted and gathered their corn, an agreement which was faithfully carried out. The governor, as soon as he had landed, in order to pave the way to peaceful relations, presented to the chief and principal men of the village "some English cloth, axes, hoes, and knives," which they received with pleasure. That this was considered a purchase is asserted by Chalmers (*Annals*, 207), who says Calvert "purchased the rights of the aborigines for a consideration which seems to have given them satisfaction . . . and lived with them on terms of perfect amity till it was interrupted by Clayborne." It must be admitted, however, that the agreement was facilitated by an anticipated attack by the Susquehannas, whom the Indians of Wicomico greatly feared; and also that, so far as appears from the history, neither the extent of territory nor the metes and bounds were indicated.

The relations of the Maryland Indians with the white settlers, though interesting, furnish no incidents like those of the Indians of Virginia. There was considerable friction between the races, but this consisted more in petty depredations than in hostile outbreaks.

At the time of settlement the principal tribes were the Nanticoke, on the eastern shore, which, according to Bozeman, spoke the same language as the Powhatans and were probably included in the confederacy; the Choptank, on Choptank River; north of them the Ocinie, not clearly identified, and the Susquehanna; west of the bay, the country along the Patuxent, and west to the Potomac as high as, and possibly a short distance beyond, the present site of the city of Washington, was occupied by the Powhatan tribes—as the Patuxent, Mattapanian, Wicomico, Lamasconson, Highawixon, and Chapticon, probably subdivisions of the Piscataway [Conoy] tribe. That portion

of Maryland west of the area occupied by these Indians does not appear to have been inhabited by any known tribe; if ever occupied, it had probably been cleared by the incursions of the Susquehanna and other Iroquoian tribes, as Griffith (*Sketches*, 20) mentions an incursion of the "Janadoas" [Oneidas] in 1661.

As the relations of the Indians and Marylanders are set forth chiefly in the acts of the Assembly, we refer to the most important of these. By Section 3 of the Act of March 19, 1638, it was decreed that:

No subject of his majesty's the king of England, or of any other foreign prince or state, shall obtain, procure, or accept of any land within this province from any foreign prince or state, or from any person whatsoever, [the native owners of the land excepted,] other than from the lord proprietary or his heirs or some person claiming under him or them.—Neither shall he obtain, procure, or accept of any land within this province from any Indian to his own or the use of any other than of "the lord proprietary or his heirs, nor shall hold or possess any land within this province by virtue of such grant, upon pain that every person offending to the contrary hereof shall forfeit and lose to the lord proprietary and his heirs all such lands so accepted or held without grant of the lord proprietary or under him."

It is probable that this law was enacted at this time because Lord Baltimore's title to some of the lands of the province was disputed by William Clayborne and those claiming under him. This claim was based upon a royal license he had obtained to trade with the Indians, and an alleged purchase from the Indians [Susquehannas?] of the Island of Kent.

The proceedings of the Assembly in 1638–1639 and the military preparations which immediately followed indicate that the harmony which had hitherto existed between the natives and colonists was at an end. Symptoms of a general discontent among all the tribes inhabiting the shores of Chesapeake Bay were now manifest. Bozeman, whom we have followed in the preceding statement, supposes that Opechancanough was already preparing the minds of the Indians for the massacre of the whites which took place

not long afterward.—(*Hist. Maryland*, ii, 161.) During this period of discontent there were some minor outbreaks. The Susquehannas, irritated by the efforts of the authorities to stop their raids on the Piscataway and Patuxent Indians, began hostilities against the colonists; but history notes the fact that the Patuxents, who had given such a kind welcome to the colonists at their first landing, remained firm friends, and were, by an act of the Assembly, taken under the protection of the Colonial Government.

By 1641, the Indians having become troublesome by their depredations, chiefly on live stock, but in some sections by more serious acts of hostility, the governor deemed it necessary to issue his proclamation notifying the whites to be on their guard and harbor no natives, "on pain of such punishment as by martial law may be inflicted." Although the records fail to give the particulars, it would appear from the governor's proclamation of the following year that the Susquehannas, Wycomeses, and Nanticokes were in open hostility against the colonists. The Nanticokes, the most warlike tribe in the bounds of the colony with the exception of the Conestogas [Susquehannas], having committed some murders in Virginia, were punished by the Marylanders, which increased their animosity toward the colony. The Conestogas were also giving trouble at this time by their frequent incursions into and depredations on the frontier settlements.

The attacks by the Nanticokes and Wicomicos on the eastern shore had, by 1647, become so persistent that Captain John Price was sent with a company of men into their country, commissioned, "by his utmost endeavor, skill and force, by what means he may, in destroying the said natives, as well by land as by water, either by killing them, taking them prisoners, burning their houses, destroying their corn, or by any other means as in his best discretion he may judge convenient."—(*Council Proceedings*, 1626–1637, 161.) History fails to inform us of the result of this expedition. However, as comparative quiet followed for some years, it

is presumed the threat, or the expedition, if it was actually undertaken, had the desired effect.

In 1652, the Maryland authorities entered into a treaty with the Susquehanna Indians, by which the latter ceded to the colony all their claim on the lands from Patuxent River to Palmer's Island on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, and from Choptank River to the northeast branch which lies to the northward of Elk River on the east side of said bay. As the western side of this cession is not defined, it is probable that the Maryland authorities extended it to Alleghany Mountains, as no other cession covered this part of the state.

In 1651, the white population of that part of Maryland, including St. Mary's County and a part of Charles, had increased to such an extent as to expel the aborigines thereof from their lands. They consisted of the following subtribes or bands: the Mattapanian, Wicomico, Patuxent, Lamasconson, Highawixon, and Chapticon—probably subdivisions or bands of the Piscataway [Conoy] tribe. Lord Baltimore, being informed of their distress, caused a certain tract of land about the headwaters of Wicomico River to be set apart for their use.

As there does not appear to have been any further difficulty between the colonists and the Indians living within the bounds of Maryland, it is only necessary to state, as indicating the policy of the colony, the purport of one or two important acts. By that of April 21, 1649, it was declared that all purchases of land from Indians except by authority under the great seal of the lord proprietor should be null and void.

Bozeman remarks, in regard to this act, that: "The principle upon which it was founded seems to have been adopted by the United States in the disposition of all the territories conquered or purchased by them from the Indians."

The final acts were those of March 12, 1786, and January 18, 1799, relating to the purchase of the lands of the remaining Nanticoke and Choptank Indians.

Previously, when the French had incited the Indians on the western frontiers to active hostility, the Assembly passed an act "for taking and detaining able-bodied men," which among other provisions authorized "ten pounds and afterwards fifty pounds to be paid for each Indian prisoner or scalp, being the skin of the crown of the head, to any person except Soldiers or Indian allies."—(Griffith, *Sketches*, 56.) However, the history of this frontier war will be found elsewhere.

It is necessary only to add that the remaining Nanticoke and Choptank Indians left the state and retired to the north, the former stopping awhile at Shamokin, in Pennsylvania, afterward moving thence and finally crossing into Canada.

CHAPTER V

THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC COLONIES

(II) THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

THE Indian history of the Carolinas, although intimately connected with that of Virginia, is in some respects peculiar; as, on the one hand, it relates to numerous small communities of but little strength and of whom but little is known, while, on the other hand, it includes the relations of the English with the most important tribe of the southern colonies, a tribe whose history overshadows that of all the rest. It is peculiar also in the fact that their native population embraced representatives of the four chief stocks of the United States—the Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, and Muskogean—and probably also of the less important Uchean and Timuquanan families.

The history of the minor tribes, although they were the first with whom the colonists came in contact, is involved in much doubt, being gathered almost wholly from incidental notices and linguistic data; and of some the names alone remain to tell us of their former existence. However, considerable light has recently been thrown upon the subject through the discovery by linguists of the relation of most of these minor tribes, and also of the Catawba, to the great Siouan group of the northwest.

The groups and tribes embraced, in whole or in part, in the bounds of these colonies were the following: the eastern Siouan group, which, as we have seen, extended into western Virginia, and included, among the Carolina tribes, the

Catawba, Cheraw, Waxhaw, Saponi, Tutelo, and others; the Algonquian family, represented by some three or four small tribes about Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds; and the Iroquoian stock, in the Tuscarora and Cherokee tribes—the former on Neuse River in northeastern North Carolina, and the latter in the mountain region along the western border. A number of the small tribes in the southern and southwestern parts of South Carolina are supposed to have been related in part to the Muskogean group and in part to the Timuquanan family, though their affinities are yet a subject of some doubt.

In 1883, Dr. Horatio Hale, the noted linguist, announced to the American Philosophical Society his discovery that the Tutelo language was related to the Dakotan [Siouan] stock, a conclusion which has since been universally accepted. An aged Indian, the last remaining Tutelo of full blood, was residing, in 1870, at Tutelo Heights, now a suburb of Brantford, Canada; from him Dr. Hale obtained a vocabulary of his native language. The remnant of his ancestral tribe, driven from its home in the distant south, had wandered in search of peace and rest to this northern region, and here, with its expiring breath, revealed the tribe's relation to the noted warriors of the plains of Minnesota and Dakota.

Building on this basis and using the scattered historical data and linguistic evidence, ethnologists have succeeded in tracing the Siouan elements located in Virginia and the Carolinas. These occupied, in addition to western Virginia, as mentioned above, the basins of Roanoke, Tar, Cape Fear, Yadkin, and Catawba Rivers in North Carolina, and the central portion of South Carolina. The tribes of the group—omitting the two Virginia confederacies and the Catawba—were, according to the most recent classification (Mr. James Mooney's *Siouan Tribes of the East*) the Tutelo, Saponi, Cheraw, Keyauwee, Eno, Shoccoree, Woccon, Waxhaw, Sugeree, Occaneechi, Waccamaw, and a few others of less importance. Besides the members of this

group, there were a number of small tribes in southern South Carolina, as the Edisto, Westo, Cusso, Stono, Cusabo, and Etiwaw, and the more important Yamasi. Most of these probably belonged to the Muskhogean and Uchean families; but the Westo and Stono, and possibly others, were more likely related to the Timuqua.

The crowding of so many non-Siouan fragments into the southern part of South Carolina may possibly be accounted for on the supposition that they were bands which had broken away from the parent stocks, because they were, in consequence of their exposed position, persistently harassed by neighboring tribes. If the Westo, Stono, and Cusabo tribes, residing in the ancient Chicora province, were, as seems probable, related to the Timuqua, this will serve to explain the final departure of some of them to Florida, after the Yamasi war. W. J. Rivers (*Hist. South Carolina*, 40 *et seq.*), speaking of these minor tribes of the interior and coast region, says that among the broken and dispersed nations the towns were reduced to an insignificant number of inhabitants; yet they were independent of one another in government, the leading man "insensibly becoming king," though neither as lord nor dictator. "The greatest personal influence, however gained, ruled them in all undertakings and emergencies. This influence might extend from town to town; one extraordinary man might become a king or an emperor of the whole nation, and one town a kind of capital of the whole confederacy." Precisely, it would seem, as Powhatan became the so-called "emperor" of the east Virginia tribes. But the alliance of towns, according to the author quoted, looked not to peace, but to war. However, the small tribes of the Carolina colonies were feeble and seldom confederated to a sufficient extent to combine their full power, either for resistance or aggression. In fact, the diversity of dialects, their estrangements, and the frequent strifes among themselves, prevented any formidable combination except when the stronger tribes united with them. It was this want of union which at

first saved the English colonists from any serious attacks by them.

The real key to their many changes and rapid decay—at least of the Siouan tribes—is to be found in the constant harassing of their settlements by the Iroquois. Lawson, who traversed the two colonies in 1701, tells of the stories repeated by Indians and traders of the injuries inflicted by the "Sennagers" [Senecas], and of the numerous grave-mounds heaped over the bodies of their victims. Although Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, obtained, by a treaty concluded at Albany, New York, in 1722, a cessation of these raids, it was too late to save these feeble tribes; the ruin had already been wrought. The closing scene of one drama will serve as a type of all.

Before 1701, the Tutelo and Saponi tribes had been driven out of Virginia and had settled on the Yadkin in North Carolina, having been joined by the fragments of the Occaneechi, Keyauwee, and Shoccoree. A few years later [1711-1715], they were again in Virginia, at Christanna, near their former home, still pursued by their inveterate enemies, the Iroquois, who sought them even under the guns of the fort. Restless and dissatisfied with their proximity to the whites, after peace was established they followed [1740] their old enemies to their northern home, preferring their protection to that of the English.

The Saraw, or Cheraw as they were usually called, the Keyauwee, Eno, Shoccoree, and some sixteen other tribes, decimated and reduced to mere remnants, placed themselves under the protection of their kinsmen, the Catawbas. "Those," says Rivers, "that did not sink into complete decay on their own lands, migrated to other places, or embraced the protection of the Catawbas, whom so many remnants had joined, that in 1743 twenty dialects were spoken among their small band of warriors."—(36.) The Saludas, whose affinities have not been determined, abandoned their home on Saluda River and removed to Pennsylvania. It is possible these were a band of Shawnee Indians

that had remained after the departure of their brethren to the north in 1700. The small tribes along the coast south of Charleston "had dwindled into insignificance prior to 1707."—(Rivers, 38.)

Most, if not all, of these minor tribes are now extinct. The presence of the whites in their vicinity seems to have acted with a baneful influence, though there was seldom any warring between them. How far the enslavement of the Indians by the South Carolinians, the dark blot on South Carolina's Indian history, contributed to the decay of these small tribes can only be surmised.

Charleston was but four years old when the traffic in Indian slaves began. The Stono Indians, whose hunting grounds adjoined the surrounding farms which the English had opened on the west of the city, not using the proper care to distinguish between the tame geese, turkeys, and stock of the planters, and the wild birds and animals of the forest, freely made game of them. This brought on hostilities; but the colonists not immediately interested being slow in aiding those who were, Governor West resorted to the plan of fixing a price upon every savage who should be taken and brought alive into Charleston.

The result is given by a comparatively modern South Carolina writer thus: "Numerous adventurers now volunteered their services, and the war, after a protracted struggle, was brought to a close by the overthrow of the refractory Stonoes, and the lucrative transportation of many of them to the West Indies. The plan succeeded. It was applied to succeeding Indian wars—even to those waged between hostile tribes and the red allies of the English."—(J. H. Logan, *Upper South Carolina*, 192.) Such a policy was destined to act injuriously on public morals and to bring trouble and injury to the colony.

In a report on the condition of the colony in 1708 by Sir Nathaniel Johnson and others, it is stated that, out of a population of 9,580, there were 4,100 negro slaves and 1,400 Indian slaves. In the same report, where mention is

made of the exports by the colony, it is stated that: "We have also commerce with Boston, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Virginia, to which places we export Indian slaves, light deerskins dressed, etc." Many were also sold in the West Indies. It is probable that these slaves were drawn, in part, from the small tribes, though it is certain that a portion was obtained from other nations. Although there was some desultory warring between the colony and the coast Indians, their exception from the operation of the act of 1707 regarding traders, mentioned below, leaves the impression that the rapid decay of these tribes may have been due in part to slave capturing.

As early as 1707, the flagrant abuses of the Indian traders had become so notorious that the Assembly found it necessary to take some step to remedy them. A Board of Commissioners was appointed to have entire charge of the subject. By them it was made one condition of the trader's license and bond that he should not seize or enslave any free Indian. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the trade continued and Indian slaves were brought to Charleston and openly sold in the market. The condition in this respect was worse after the appointment of the Board than before; utterly unprincipled men were allowed trading privileges and made Indian agents, and slaves were brought from tribes as far distant as the Cherokees. Be it said, however, to her credit that North Carolina took no part in this nefarious traffic.

Although this traffic may have contributed in some degree to the rapid diminution of these small tribes, the chief cause was probably the incessant raiding of their settlements by the Iroquois, supplemented by intertribal feuds.

The chief tribe of the Eastern Siouan group, as already stated, was that including the Catawba Indians, who gathered under their protecting wings the smaller members of the group when they had been reduced to wandering remnants by their inveterate foes. Although the tale, like that which has been related, is a sad one, it had one pleasing feature, which will appear as we proceed.

According to a tradition recorded by Schoolcraft in his *Indian Tribes of North America*, which he says he found in an old manuscript preserved in the office of the Secretary of State of South Carolina, the Catawbas came originally from the north, driven southward by the Conewangos [Iroquois] and the French, about the year 1650. After relating their temporary halts in Kentucky and Virginia, it brings them finally to Catawba River, where they were attacked by the Cherokees and a fierce battle was fought, each party losing a thousand men! Peace was made, and Broad River adopted as the boundary between the tribes.

That this tradition must in part be rejected is evident, as the tribe was located in its historic seat before the date mentioned; nor could the French have joined in their expulsion. However, as it is generally conceded that the Catawbas came from the north, and must have passed through Kentucky or Virginia or both, and that Kentucky River was sometimes called the Cuttawa by the Shawnees, which, according to Mr. Mooney (*op. cit.*), was the old war trail of the Catawbas, it is possible that the tradition has some elements of fact in it. The writer who gives the tradition appears to have adopted the theory that it accounted for the disappearance of the Eries, and to have fixed upon a date to accord therewith.

If the identification of the Issa of La Vandra [1569] with the Catawbas, as has been suggested, be correct, this will be the first recorded notice of the tribe. However, the route of Captain Juan Pardo's expedition [1566-1567], which La Vandra describes (*Collec. Var. Doc's Hist. Fla.*, i., 1857, 15 *et seq.*), is so indefinitely given as to render it impossible to locate the Issa with any certainty. All that can be said is that if the expedition passed through their place, the Catawbas were then more to the south and west than their historic seat.

The next mention of the tribe is by John Lederer [1670], if his "Ushery" is correctly identified with them. However, as it appears from a careful study of the narrative

of this traveller to be quite probable that he was never in Carolina, that portion of his second expedition south of Roanoke being especially questionable, his information regarding this section must have been obtained from the Indians. Therefore, the locations given and his statements in regard thereto are unreliable.

In 1701, Lawson, in his journey across the colonies, visited the tribe to which he applies the names Esaw and Kadapau. Although these are merely synonyms of Catawba, he applies them to two divisions or bands of the tribe which were at that time living a short distance apart. He was received in a friendly manner by them, and allowed to pass back and forth freely; and it may be added here that, with the exception of one instance hereafter mentioned, the people of this tribe, though of sufficient strength to have given the colonists of the Carolinas much trouble, were uniformly on friendly relations with them. The statement of a recent writer that "the Catawba Indians present a wonderful example of faithfulness and devotion to the American people," can hardly be considered exaggerated praise.

In 1712, more than a hundred Catawba warriors accompanied Colonel Barnwell, of South Carolina, in his expedition against the Tuscároras, and fought bravely on the side of the English. However, in 1715, these Indians, otherwise uniformly friendly to the whites, yielding to the influence of surrounding tribes, and possibly to Spanish bribes or promises, joined the Yamasis and other tribes in the uprising of that year. During the border wars brought on by the French, they went to the assistance of the Colonial army. In 1757, during the war with the Cherokees, they offered their services to the Governor of South Carolina, which were gladly accepted, and, as Simms informs us, at the battle of Etchoe "assisted materially in gaining the victory, after one of the fiercest battles with the red men on the records of America." They also aided the Colonists in the Revolutionary War.

About 1764, a treaty between the tribe and South Carolina was made, by which a tract of one hundred and forty-four thousand acres was set apart to them on the Catawba River, as a permanent residence.

The history of the tribe up to 1760, other than that of their relations with the whites, is chiefly a record of petty warfare between them and the Iroquois, and other tribes, as the Cherokees and Shawnees. After the Revolution, they appear to have gradually melted away.

The history of the Tuscaroras is brief, being centred almost entirely in a single episode. Rivers states, on what authority is unknown, that before they came to North Carolina they resided between Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, within the bounds of what is now Georgia. However, their original home must have been with their kindred [Iroquois] of the north, but at the advent of the whites they were seated in North Carolina along the lower Neuse River.

Their intercourse with the colonists was friendly up to the year 1711, when they joined with other Indians in a terrible massacre of the unsuspecting whites. Although no express reason was named by them for this outbreak, it is probable that the cause of their discontent was the increasing number of Graaffenriedt's Swiss and Palatinate colonists, although these had paid for all the land they occupied. The tribe entered into a conspiracy with the Pamlico Indians to attack the settlers on the Roanoke. "The Cothechneys, who lived in the present county of Greene, engaged to come down and join the Cores [Corees] and attack the planters on the Neuse and Trent Rivers. Bath was attacked by the Mattamuskeets and Matchepungoes."—(Wheeler, *Hist. North Carolina*, 37.) On the 11th of September, 1711, one hundred and twelve of the settlers on the Roanoke and the Chowan fell under the murderous tomahawk. "The carnage," says Wheeler, "was continued for three days, until fatigue only disabled the savage foe." The utmost cruelty marked the inroad of the savages; old and young, males and females, all sharing the same fate. It was during this

massacre that the surveyor and historian Lawson was slain; Graaffenriedt escaped by humiliating concessions.

The North Carolina forces, aided by troops from South Carolina, hastened to the rescue, and on January 28, 1712, attacked the Indians, who had fortified themselves on the banks of the Neuse, killing and wounding, in all, four hundred. Peace was made, which, however, proved to be but temporary, as the war was renewed in 1713. Colonel Moore, of South Carolina, was placed in command of the forces sent against them, and attacking them [March 20] at their fort near Snow Hill signally defeated them, killing two hundred and taking eight hundred prisoners. Now completely subdued, most of those not captured fled northward and, joining their kindred, became the "Sixth Nation" of the Iroquois confederacy. In June, 1718, a treaty was entered into with those who remained in the south, and a tract of land on the Roanoke, in the present Bertie County, was granted them. These ultimately followed their brethren to the north.

It was but two or three years after the close of the war with the Tuscaroras, when the Yamasis, who had sent some of their warriors to assist the English in quelling the outbreak of the former, were, in turn, the chief conspirators in an attack upon the colonists, which taxed the utmost energy and vigilance of the latter to withstand.

These Indians appear to have shifted their settlements back and forth from the confines of Florida to the southern part of South Carolina. Fairbanks (*Hist. St. Augustine*, 125) says: "The Yamasees, always peaceful and manageable, had a principal town, Macarisqui, near St. Augustine. In 1680 they revolted, because the Spaniards had executed one of their principal chiefs at St. Augustine; and in 1686 they made a general attack on the Spaniards and became their mortal enemies." In 1687 and 1706, they made inroads on the Christianized Timuquas. In 1701, Lawson mentions the Savannah Indians as "a famous, warlike, friendly nation of Indians, living at the south end of Ashley

River.”—(*Hist. N. Carolina*, 1860, 75.) Dr. Gatschet seems to identify these Indians with the Yamasis, though they were probably Uchees.

After deserting the Spaniards, the Yamasis removed to South Carolina in the neighborhood of Port Royal, living in friendly relations with the colonists until 1715. However, by intrigues and presents the Spaniards succeeded in enlisting them in their interest. The Cherokees, Catawbas, and Congarees were drawn into a conspiracy to exterminate the English settlers. The contemplated attack on the unsuspecting whites began on the morning of April 15, 1715. The usual atrocious deeds were repeated, some four hundred victims falling in the murderous assault. A force of volunteers led by Governor Craven attacked them and drove them over the Savannah. For a time they kept up a desultory war with the colonists. According to Bartram (*Travels*, 139), the final blow was given to the tribe by the Creeks in “a last decisive battle” on St. John’s River, Florida. The broken remnants were ultimately merged with the Seminoles, and the Yamasi, as a distinct tribe, disappears from history after the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Cherokee Indians are in some respects the most remarkable natives of the United States. Like their congeners the Iroquois, they were brave, warlike, and cruel, and like them possessed that cohesiveness which gave them great tribal power of aggression and resistance; in fact, their tenacious life and recuperative powers as a tribe have scarcely a parallel in the native history of our country. Decimated by their wars with the whites, their towns destroyed and their fields laid waste, and compelled to flee to the mountain fastnesses with their wives and children, they return after peace is made to their wasted homes, and in a few years are as strong in numbers and as prosperous as before. In 1715, they numbered eleven thousand, and in 1735 eighteen thousand souls. Three years later, they were reduced one-half by the ravages of the smallpox; and by this calamity and the losses sustained in their conflicts

with the whites and the neighboring tribes, fifty years later their population did not exceed seven or eight thousand; yet we learn by the census of 1883 their number then was twenty-two thousand. Thus it appears that while other tribes, even though on peaceful relations with the whites, —as the Catawbas,—gradually sank into decay in the presence of this foreign race, as plant life under the deadly upas, the Cherokees seemed to gather increased vigor by such relations.

Physical environment may have tended to increase both their physical and mental powers, for their local habitat was peculiar; stretching from the headwaters of the streams on one side of the Blue Ridge to those on the other, the active exercise, pure air, and crystal waters were conducive both to physical and mental vigor. Be this as it may, their later history has shown their capability of mental acquirements and of political organization.

The first notice on record of the Cherokees is found in the chronicles of De Soto's expedition, which mention them under the names "Chalache" and "Achalaque." The place where they were encountered [1540] appears to have been on or near the upper waters of the Savannah, and one of the chroniclers speaks of both their country and them in rather unfavorable terms: "the poorest country of maize that was seen in Florida;" these Indians, he says, "feed upon roots and herbs which they seek in the fields, and upon wild beasts, which they kill with their bows and arrows, and are a very gentle people. All of them go naked and are very lean." As De Soto did not pass through the main Cherokee country, it is probable that this was their extreme southern settlement, or a roving band; at any rate, this discovery furnishes proof that the Cherokees had reached their historic seat as early as 1540. The tradition and other data which bring them at an earlier date from the Ohio, though apparently based on fact, belong to prehistoric times. Their next appearance in history is when, in 1656, as the Richahecrian Indians, they appeared in Virginia and

ravaged the country to the falls of James River, as heretofore stated.

The first formal notice of the tribe was in 1693, when twenty of their chief men, coming down from their mountain home, visited Charleston with proposals of peace and friendship, and at the same time solicited the aid of the governor against the Esaws [Catawbas] and Congarees [Coosaws?], who had captured and carried off a number of their people to be sold into slavery. The Savannah Indians, it appears, had taken several people of the above-mentioned tribes and sold them to the colonists or traders as slaves. The extreme eastern settlements of the Cherokees at this time were between Catawba and Broad Rivers, in the limits of the present Chester and Fairfield districts of South Carolina.

Although frequently mentioned in the interval, nothing is stated in regard to the relations of these Indians with the whites until 1712, when two hundred and eighteen of the tribe accompanied Colonel Barnwell in his expedition against the Tuscaroras. In 1715, they were in league with the Yamasis and other tribes in their war on the colonists. Their strength at this time is indicated by a census taken by order of Governor Robert Johnson, of South Carolina, immediately after this uprising, by which it appears that they had thirty-two towns with an aggregate population of 11,210 persons, of whom about four thousand were warriors. Though a temporary peace with the whites followed, their disposition would not permit them to remain quiet. Joining their forces with the Chickasaws, they made a united attack upon the Shawnees residing on the lower Cumberland River and drove them from that section.

In order to bring about more permanent peaceful relations with the various tribes, Governor Nicholson, of South Carolina, invited them to a general convention. This proposition was accepted; and after presents were distributed and the peace pipe had been smoked, boundary lines were agreed upon and an agent appointed to superintend their affairs. A little later [1730], it becoming known that

the French were planning to unite Canada and Louisiana, Great Britain, in order to counteract this, endeavored to enlist the Indians in her interest. With this purpose in view, Sir Alexander Cumming, as commissioner, entered into a new treaty with them, including a special agreement that they should not trade with any other people than the English. It was at this time that Moytoy, at the suggestion of the English, was appointed head chief, and designated "emperor," of the entire Cherokee nation. Another treaty, having the same object in view and including the cession of certain lands to the English, was made in 1755 between Governor Glen and the tribe.

Notwithstanding these efforts to maintain peaceful relations, hostilities commenced on the part of the Cherokees; Fort Loudon, on the Little Tennessee, was captured by them, and this was followed by a general invasion of the frontier of Carolina, and an indiscriminate butchery of men, women, and children. Between two and three hundred men, besides women and children, perished in this massacre.

After an indecisive expedition against them under Colonel Montgomery, which served only to stimulate them to increased aggression, Colonel Grant was despatched against them in 1761. He encountered the enemy in full force at Etchoe, where they had fought Montgomery in the previous expedition. "For three hours did the engagement continue, until the persevering valor of the whites succeeded in expelling the Indians from the field. . . . Their granaries and cornfields were destroyed, and their miserable families driven to the barren mountains. The national spirit was, for a while, subdued, and they humbly sued for peace, through the old and friendly chief, Attakullakulla."—(Simms.) The proposition was accepted, and a treaty of peace was entered into. By this treaty, the boundary between these Indians and the white settlements was declared to be the sources of the great rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean.

In 1768, Mr. Stuart, the British superintendent of Indian affairs, concluded another treaty with the Cherokees,

wherein it was agreed that the southwest boundary of Virginia should be a line "extending from the point where the northern line of North Carolina intersects the Cherokee hunting grounds about thirty-six miles east of Long Island in the Holston River; and thence extending in a direct course, north by east to Chiswell's mine on the east bank of the Kenhawa River, and thence down that stream to its junction with the Ohio." This treaty was made in consequence of appeals from these Indians to stop further encroachments on their lands by the white settlers.

In 1776, the Cherokees, instigated, as was charged, by the British, attacked, in different parties, the settlements of east Tennessee and adjoining portions of North Carolina, killing a number of persons. In consequence of these hostilities, General Williamson, in the same year, marched an army from South Carolina and destroyed the Cherokee towns on Keowee and Tugaloo Rivers. General Rutherford led another force from North Carolina, and Colonel Christian a third from Virginia, and destroyed most of their principal towns on Little Tennessee River. These severe measures succeeded in bringing them to terms, and on May 20, 1777, a treaty was concluded between them and the states of South Carolina and Georgia, by which the Cherokees ceded to these states a considerable area on Savannah and Saluda Rivers, comprising all their lands in South Carolina east of Unica Mountains. In the same year a treaty was concluded with them by Virginia and North Carolina, by which they ceded their lands on Holston River as low down as Cloud's Fork.

It will be seen from these brief notes that the Indian history of the Carolinas was one of alternate changes from harmony to hostility, though not marked by any long-continued wars. The want of harmony in the colonial governments during much of their early existence left but little opportunity to adopt and carry out a correct policy in their dealings with the natives, even if the desire to do so existed.

As a very general rule in the history of our country, one leading cause of Indian hostility to the whites has been the encroachment upon their lands by the latter, a necessary consequence of colonization. Hence, the lack of a uniform and liberal policy on the part of a colony in obtaining lands from the natives had a tendency to increase the irritation. The only true basis of any correct policy in reference to the lands was the admission from the outset that the possessory right was in the natives, and that this should be obtained from them by satisfactory means, but only through the ruling authority claiming the actual title.

The proprietors of the North Carolina colony do not appear to have had any settled policy in this respect; in fact, the Indian title, though nominally acknowledged, appears to have been considered of but little importance by them, its extinguishment being left to the individual grantees, an evil practice and always a source of trouble and disputes. The colonial authorities attempted in 1715 to modify this practice by an act making it necessary that individual purchasers should first obtain consent of the governor and council. The fourth section of this act is as follows:

And whereas there is great reason to believe that disputes concerning land have already been of fatal consequence to the peace and welfare of this colony, Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That no white man shall, for any consideration whatsoever, purchase or buy any tract or parcel of land claimed, or actually in possession of any Indian, without special liberty for so doing from the Governor and Council first had and obtained, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every hundred acres of land so bargained for and purchased, one half to the informer and other half to him or them that shall sue for the same: to be recovered by bill, plaint or information, in any court of record within this government; wherein no essoin, protection, injunction, or wager of law, shall be allowed or admitted of

This clause was reenacted in the law of 1748, omitting the words "without special liberty for so doing from the Governor and Council first had and obtained," and reducing the penalty to "ten pounds." The act as modified would therefore appear to have been an absolute prohibition

of individual purchases; yet we find the British government in 1761, after it had appointed special Indian agents, issuing instructions to the governors and agent of the southern department, forbidding purchases of lands from the Indians without having obtained license for this purpose.

The policy adopted by South Carolina in respect to the Indian title in the lands appears to have been in the main just, and based—at least impliedly—on an acknowledgment of their possessory right. The land where Charleston was built was purchased by and in the name of the proprietors, March 10, 1675. By another deed, dated February 28, 1683, the caciques of the Wimbu Indians ceded “a strip of country between the Combahee and Broad Rivers extending back to the mountains.” Deeds were also obtained from the caciques of the Stono, Combahee, and Kissah Indians, and from the “Queen of St. Helena.”

However, the lands purchased by these two colonies from the Indians constituted much less than a moiety of the territory embraced in their bounds. This was doubtless due to the fact that, with the exception of the Catawbas and the Cherokees, the tribes were of minor importance and unsettled. The Tuscaroras and Yamasis forfeited their claims by rebellion.

It is only necessary to say in regard to the policy of the Georgia colony, that by recognizing the right of the Indians, and adopting a mild and conciliatory course, Governor Oglethorpe obtained the lands he desired and, with slight exceptions, avoided conflicts with the Indians.

CHAPTER VI

THE INDIANS OF NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA

COMING to the land of William Penn, the friend of the Indian, we should expect to hear but few and faint echoes of bloody strife and battle cries. Nevertheless, the colonists of Pennsylvania did not escape conflict with the tawny natives, and more than one locality is still pointed out as the scene of slaughter. However, Indian wars were less frequent and of shorter duration in Pennsylvania than in most of the other colonies. But it is to New Jersey we must look as the colony where open conflicts between the natives and white settlers were fewest. The words of Shawuskukhkung, or Wilted Grass, one of the last Delaware chiefs, to the Legislature of New Jersey may be repeated with pleasure here:

Not a drop of our blood have you spilled in battle—not an acre of our land have you taken but by our consent. These facts speak for themselves, and need no comment. They place the character of New Jersey in bold relief and bright example to those states within whose territorial limits our brethren still remain. Nothing save benisons can fall upon her from the lips of a Lenni Lenape.

There may be some who would despise an Indian benediction; but when I return to my people, and make known to them the result of my mission, the ear of the Great Sovereign of the universe, which is still open to our cry, will be penetrated with our invocation of blessings upon the generous sons of New Jersey.

Notwithstanding these facts, which made some of the few bright spots in Indian history, the natives who once inhabited these states are seen no more in the valleys of the Delaware and the Susquehanna.

At the time the Europeans began to settle in this section, the eastern part of Pennsylvania and all, or nearly all, of New Jersey, as now limited, were occupied by the people of a single tribe known as the Lenni Lenape, and in modern times as the Delawares. This tribe, whose traditional history reaches further back in the past than that of any other native group east of Rocky Mountains, appears to have been one of the oldest and, at some former period, one of the most powerful organizations of the Algonquian stock, being looked upon by other members of the family as ancestor or "grandfather," as they designated the tribe. According to their tradition, preserved orally, and also scratched or painted on bark or wood, as interpreted by Dr. Horatio Hale, they came from some point north of the Great Lakes. Although their line of march, as given in this tradition, cannot be traced with certainty, the most consistent rendering appears to be that which brings them across the water line at Detroit River or, more likely, at Straits of Mackinaw; thence southward through Michigan and eastward through Ohio, dropping offshoots as they proceeded. In Ohio they were opposed by the Tallega, probably the Cherokees, in which contest they were aided by the Iroquois or Hurons. From there they passed eastward over the mountains to their historic seats.

The tribe consisted of three divisions or subtribes: the Unami, or Turtle division; the Unalachto, or Turkey division; and the Minsi, corrupted to Munsee, or Wolf division. The territory of the Minsis, who occupied the most northern region of the three divisions, extended from Catskill Mountains to the headwaters of Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, and eastward to the Hudson, their council seat being at Minisink. The other divisions occupied the remainder of the Delaware territory to its western and southern boundaries, and eastward to the seacoast. The Unalachto territory, which lay immediately south of the Minsi area, joined the latter somewhere near Stony Point.

As the Munsee territory lay almost wholly in New York, and as the history of the Indians of this division, so far as given, relates almost entirely to their intercourse and contests with the first settlement in that state, it will be given in the chapter on the Indians of New York.

The first relations of the Delaware Indians—limiting the term to the two southern divisions—with the whites were with the Dutch of New Netherlands and the Swedes who tried to plant themselves along Delaware River and Bay. These, however, were chiefly in regard to the purchase of land; for both colonies, though contesting the right of possession, based their claims on purchases from the Indians. The latter at one time made complaint against the Swedes, but the difficulty was settled by their chief Noaman, and some presents from the Swedes. There are accounts of some early conflicts between the Indians of New Jersey and the Dutch; but Philip Carteret, who had been appointed governor by the proprietors, thought it the wisest policy to purchase the lands from the Indians before attempting settlement upon them. The cost, he contended, would be inconsiderable in comparison with the damage which might ensue from a neglect to do so, as the Indians about the English settlements, though few in number, were strong in their alliances. He therefore ordered that all newcomers wishing to settle were to purchase of the Indians, or, if the lands had already been purchased, they were to pay in proportion to what had been paid by the first purchaser to the Indians. "The event," says Samuel Smith, in his history of New Jersey, "answered his expectation; for, as the Indians parted with the lands to their own satisfaction, they became [instead] of a jealous, shy people, serviceable, good neighbors, and though frequent reports of their coming to kill the white people sometimes disturbed their repose, no instance occurs of their hurting them [the English] in those early settlements."

We find no full account of the chieftaincies [clans] of the Unalachtó, or Turkey division of the tribe. That,

however, of the Unami, Turtle division, is given by E. M. Ruttenber, in his *History of the Indian Tribes of the Hudson River*, as follows: the Nivisinks, on the Highlands south of Sandy Hook; the Raritans, along the valley and river which bear their name; the Hackinsacks, in the valleys of Hackinsack and Passaic Rivers; the Aquackanonks, about the site of Paterson; the Tappans, whose territory extended from the vicinity of Hackinsack River to the Highlands; and the Haverstraws, north of the Tappans, boundaries not given, but their territory extended eastward to the Hudson. The Indians of New Jersey are, by some authors, classed as a separate division of the Delawares, but the most consistent theory seems to be that which makes them merely the portions of the Unami and Unalachto living east of Delaware River, as given by Ruttenber.

There is but little more to be stated in regard to the Indians of New Jersey. In 1756, during the Indian troubles in Pennsylvania, the Legislature of New Jersey appointed commissioners to examine into the treatment the Indians had received, and to make report. Upon the receipt of this report, the Legislature, in 1757, passed an act which reveals the grievances complained of. By this act a penalty was laid upon persons selling strong drink so as to intoxicate the Indians, and it declared all their sales or pawns for drink void; that no Indian should be imprisoned for debt; that no traps weighing more than three and a half pounds should be set; and made void all sales and leases of lands not obtained as directed in the act. By a subsequent act, an appropriation was made for purchasing of the Indians a general release of all lands claimed by them in New Jersey. One-half of this appropriation was to be used for making a settlement for the Indians residing in the province of Raritan River. This arrangement was carried out and confirmed by the Indians.

The last act of the drama was when chief Wilted Grass, whose words have already been quoted, applied to the Legislature for remuneration on account of his tribe's rights

of fishing and hunting on unenclosed lands, which had been reserved in the various agreements with the whites. The population of the tribe at this time [1832] was reduced to forty souls. The justice of the claim was conceded, and the Legislature promptly directed the payment to the Indians of two thousand dollars, in full relinquishment of their claims.

Passing to the Delawares of Pennsylvania, we find the same divisions represented here as in New Jersey, each having its several chieftaincies as in the latter state; but the history of the tribe in this state differs, as will be seen as we proceed, from that of the New Jersey section in several respects. Before entering upon this subject, however, there is one item relating to the tribe as a whole to which it is necessary to refer in order to understand some important points in their history.

It is repeatedly stated in historical works that the Iroquois, at some indefinite time in the past, had conquered and brought the Delawares into subjection, "making them," according to the Indian method of expressing it, "women." This means that the subjugated tribe, though not always paying tribute, had no right to make war on another tribe, to remove from their country, or to dispose of their lands, without the consent of the victors. It was admitted by the Delawares that they were "made women"; of this there is clear and decisive evidence; but it is denied by them that it was by conquest, as they assert that it was through deceit on the part of the Iroquois in inducing them to voluntarily accept this position as a means of maintaining peace with the whites. This view is maintained by Rev. John Heckewelder in his *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, and by Ruttenber in his *History of the Indian Tribes of the Hudson River*. Be this as it may, there are strong reasons for doubting the opinion that they were brought into this condition before the arrival of the whites.

The reasons for the last assertion may be briefly stated as follows: The Iroquois do not appear to have assumed

an important position among the Indian tribes until after Cartier's visit [1534], tradition giving them a subordinate position as compared with the Algonquins; hence it is altogether unlikely that they had subjugated the Delawares, then, undoubtedly, one of the strongest tribes of the east, sending out colonies to the east and south, one closely cognate branch pushing up to the very doors of the Mohawks. If the Delaware tradition on this point be untrue, it is strange that the Iroquois did not make women of other tribes which they conquered; at least, it does not appear to have been acknowledged by any other tribe. Moreover, the known facts contradict the assumption that they had remained passively obedient to the Iroquois all this time, and up to the memorable occasion when Canassatego, an Iroquois chief, during the meeting at Philadelphia in 1742 in regard to the claims of the Delawares to certain lands they—the Pennsylvania colonists—had wrongly deprived them of, made the following, oft-quoted statement: "How came you to take upon you to sell land? We conquered you, we made women of you; you know you are women and can no more sell land than women; we charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you liberty to think about it; we assign you two places to go to, either Wyoming or Shamokin. Don't deliberate, but remove away; and take this belt of wampum." It was notorious, however, that this was a scene arranged between the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Iroquois. In 1660, the "Munsees" [Minsis], one division of the Delawares, could boldly exclaim to their dependants at Esopus, in the presence of the Mohawk ambassador: "This is not your land; it is our land; therefore repeat not this."—(O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii, 417.) In 1663, a body of six hundred Senecas attacked the fort of the Munsees on Delaware River, and were put to flight and pursued northward for two days. The Mohawks, who were called in to help the Senecas, even applied to the English, when they came into control, to make peace for them "with the nations down the river,"

that is to say, the Delawares. Some of the Munsee chieftaincies were in acknowledged subjugation in 1680. It appears certain, therefore, that the Delawares were not "made women" until after 1660. Dr. D. G. Brinton, in his *The Lenape and their Legends*, fixes the date about 1725, and says it was in consequence of the refusal of the Delawares to join the Iroquois in an attack on the English settlements. This, however, is extremely doubtful, as it must have been at an earlier date.

But little is known in regard to the early history of the Delawares of Pennsylvania. According to their own statements they formerly made war upon the Cherokees, who, they said, then lived on Ohio River and its branches. This, though apparently reliable, must have been at a very early date, and may refer to their contests with the Tallega [Cherokees] during their migrations eastward. We know that some of the Cherokees were in their southern historic seats in 1540. The only suggestion as to the date of the migration is given by Rev. Charles Beaty in his *Journal of a Two Months' Tour*, the first recorded notice of the tradition [1767]. In this, he says their tradition is that they "came to Delaware River, where they settled three hundred and seventy years ago." This would make the date of their settlement in the closing years of the fourteenth century. They state that they were frequently at war with the Iroquois. However, after William Penn began to plant his colony on the Delaware, they entered into peaceful relations with these settlers, which remained unbroken for nearly seventy years. Although there were occasional complaints by both parties, there was during all this time no warring between the Delawares and the Pennsylvania settlers.

Penn adopted at the outset the policy of entering upon no land until it had been purchased from the Indians, a policy which gained their good will and maintained it while he remained in authority. Although his dealings with the Indians have been so much praised and held up as models of justice, yet it must be admitted that some of them will

not stand the test of justice and equity under closer scrutiny. They will scarcely bear throughout a favorable comparison with the acts of the New Jersey colony.

The deeds were not only indefinite, but left wide openings for fraud. Take for example the deed of June 23, 1683, wherein the lands granted were those "lying betwixt Pem-mapecka and Neshemineh Creeks, and all along upon Neshemineh Creek, and backward of the same, and to run two days' journey with an horse up into the country, as the said river doth go." This is a sample of several others obtained near the same date. Can it be said that such a description of land in a deed, written by the purchaser, as "two days' journey with an horse," where one of the parties is composed of untutored Indians who had but little acquaintance with Europeans, was entirely compatible with the claim of sincerity and a desire to be strictly just? Although the geography of the region may have been but little known, Mr. Penn knew well enough how to have added restrictions and limitations in the deed so as to have rendered it much more definite. The deed of 1686, said to have been drawn by Penn, was one of the causes of the war which broke out seventy years later. By this deed, the boundaries of the land conveyed were described as "beginning at a certain tree above the mouth of Neshamony Creek; thence by a course west-northwest to the Neshamony; thence back into the woods as far as a man could walk in a day and a half; and to the Delaware again, and so down to the place of beginning."

By the agreement at Philadelphia, September 17, 1718, the several deeds conveying lands between Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers were taken up and a new deed was made, giving, as more definite boundaries, "all the said lands situate between the two said rivers of Delaware and Susquehannah, from Duck Creek to the mountains on this side Lechaity." Notwithstanding this new deed, Penn's successors, sixty years after the making of the original deed of 1686, went on to survey the tract according to the

latter. A road was prepared for the walk and a swift pedestrian selected so as to accomplish as great a distance as possible. The line from the extremity of the walk, which was thirty miles north of Lechaity Mountains, the limit fixed by the deed of 1718, instead of taking the most direct course to Delaware River, was extended northeast for a hundred miles, striking this river at the mouth of Laxawaxen Creek. A million acres of land were thus embraced, when, by a fair and just construction, even had the early deed been in force, the amount would not have exceeded three hundred and fifty thousand acres. The lines of this survey, and of another obtained from the Six Nations, covering lands of the Delawares, were, as we shall see, wiped out with the blood of white settlers. It was the complaint on the part of the Delawares of the unfairness and fraud in this survey that was under discussion at Philadelphia in 1742 when Canassatego made the statement quoted above.

Although the statement of Canassatego was contradictory in itself,—for the sale by the Delawares in 1686, if they had no right to sell land, was void, and gave the English no title to it,—yet the command was obeyed and the Delawares removed to the places designated, some going to Wyoming Valley, where in 1694 a party of Shawnees, consisting of about one thousand, had settled among the Munsees, and where in 1730 a band of Mohicans had also settled, and another portion to Shamokin, now Sunbury. A little later [1748], a remnant of the Nanticokes, under their chief sachem White, settled at Conestoga on Delaware River.

However, the embers which had been so long smouldering at length burst into a blaze.

Whatever of doubt hung over their right of possession to the lands from which they [the Delawares] had been ejected, there was none in regard to those to which they had been assigned. The Five Nations had given them the latter, and they were theirs. In the sale to the Connecticut company, these lands were included ; in that to the agents of the

Pennsylvania proprietaries, their more western hunting grounds were cut off without their consent. Remembering that by precisely similar means they had been despoiled of their former homes, they resolved to fight to the last in defense of their rights; to revenge this last and crowning outrage, and to wipe away with blood the well-remembered wrongs which had rankled in their bosoms for years. The chiefs of the east met those of the west in council at Alleghany, rehearsed the wrongs which they had suffered, and declared that wherever the white man had settled within the territory which they claimed, there they would strike him as best they could with such weapons as they could command; and, that the blow might be effectually dealt, each warrior-chief was charged to scalp, kill and burn within the precincts of his birthright, and all simultaneously, from the frontiers, down into the heart of the settlements, until the English should sue for peace and promise redress."—(Ruttenber.)

Aware of their weakness while warring as separate divisions, they resolved to remodel their government. Accordingly, the three subtribes or divisions—the Munsees, Unami, and Unalachtö, also called Lenape—joined together in a league and elected Tedyuscung as head chief over the whole body. Those who had been sachems before now willingly resigned their positions, contenting themselves with a place in the council. As soon as this action was noised abroad, Tedyuscung found his forces augmented by the addition of a number of Mohicans and Shawnees. As the first results of the outburst cannot be better given than in the graphic account by Ruttenber, we quote his statements:

October came, and no sooner had the biting frost reddened the maple and hardened the yellow corn in the husk, than, with their allies, painted black for war, in bands of two or four abreast, they moved eastward with murderous intent; and the line of the Blue mountain, from the Delaware to the Susquehanna, became the scene of the carnival which they held with torch and tomahawk during many coming months. The defenseless settlers were harassed by an unseen foe by day and by night. Some were shot down at the plow, some were killed at the fire-side; men, women and children were promiscuously tomahawked or scalped, or hurried away into distant captivity, for torture or for coveted ransom. There was literally a pillar of fire by night and a pillar and cloud by day going up along the horizon, marking the progress of the relentless Indians, as they dealt out death, and pillage, and conflagration, and

drove before them, in midwinter's flight, hundreds of homeless wanderers, who scarce knew where to turn for safety or for succor in the swift destruction that was come upon them.

The attacking force appeared in two distinct yet united organizations—that of the eastern *Lenapes*, under the lead of Teedyuscung; that of the western, under Shingas. Both were equal in determination, though perhaps unequal in strength, the western being the most formidable in numbers, in position, and in the direct aid which they could obtain from the French. The defeat of Braddock in July was the signal for the aggressive action already outlined in general terms. The western organization was first to strike. On the 16th day of October they fell upon the whites of John Penn's creek, four miles south of Shamokin. Here they killed or took captive twenty-five persons; and it was only the twenty-third of the month when all the settlements along the Susquehanna, between Shamokin and Hunter's mill, for a distance of fifty miles, were hopelessly deserted. Early in November, the Great and Little Cove were attacked and the inhabitants either put to death or taken prisoners, and the settlements totally destroyed.

These blows were promptly seconded by the eastern organization under Teedyuscung. Assembling his allied *Lenape*, *Shawnee*, and *Mahican* warriors at Nescopeç, he marked out the plan of the campaign for the coming autumn and winter. Its operations were to be restricted to the "walking purchase," within which it was resolved to chastise the English first, by waging against them a war of extermination. From their lurking places in the fastnesses of the Great Swamp, the wronged warriors, led by Teedyuscung in person, sallied forth on their marauds, striking consternation into the hearts of the settlers. Falling upon the farms along the Susquehanna and Delaware, they fired the harvested grain and fodder in barns and in barracks, destroyed large numbers of cattle and horses, and killed thirteen persons. On the 24th of November, the Moravian mission at Gnadenhütten was surprised and ten of its converts scalped, or shot, or tomahawked, or burned to death in their dwellings. This was but the prelude to the tragedy which was to be performed. Along the northern line of the tract which had been so fraudulently surveyed, the tide of devastation rolled its blackening current. Within a month, fifty farmhouses were plundered and burned, and upwards of one hundred persons killed on the frontiers on both sides of the Kittatinny, or endless hills. "All our border country," writes a chronicler of the day, "extending from the Potomac to the Delaware, not less than one hundred and fifty miles in length and between twenty and thirty in breadth, has been entirely deserted, its houses reduced to ashes, and the cattle, horses, grain and other possessions of the inhabitants either destroyed, burned or carried off by the Indians; while such of the poor planters who, with their wives, children and servants, escaped from the enemy, have been obliged, in this

inclement season of the year, to abandon their habitations almost naked, and to throw themselves upon the charity of those who dwell in the interior of the province."

Alarmed at the destruction of life and property, and well aware that the French, with whom the English colonies were at war, were the instigators and abettors of this onslaught, the Governor of New York appealed to Sir William Johnson to call together the Six Nations and ask them to put a stop to the hostilities of the Indians. After one or two conferences and the despatch of messengers to the Delawares, a meeting was finally brought about at Otsiningo, an Indian town on the Susquehanna. The object of the English was to use the supposed power of the Six Nations over the Delawares to compel them to desist from further attacks on the whites. The result is best told in the command of the speaker for the former, and the reply of the speaker for the latter. "Get sober," said the former, "get sober; your actions are those of a drunken man." But the days when the Lenape stood cowering in the presence of the Mengwe had passed. "We are men," replied the Lenape, "we are men and warriors. We will acknowledge no superiors upon earth. We are men, and are determined to be no longer ruled over by you as women. We are warriors, and are determined to cut off all the English save those that make their escape from us in ships. So say no more to us on that head, lest we make women of you as you have done of us."

During these events, Pennsylvania had declared war against the Delawares and Shawnees, and sent out a force of three hundred men, under charge of Benjamin Franklin, to build a fort at Gnadenhütten or Shamokin, and to restore the fugitive Moravian Indians and their missionaries to their lands. Johnson, who doubted the wisdom of this action, was endeavoring to bring about peace without forcible measures. He finally succeeded in getting Tedyuscung to attend a conference at Easton with Governor Dinny. It was here that this chief displayed his remarkable ability, in the skill

with which he conducted his side of the controversy, though he had to contend with one who was his superior in a polemic contest.

When asked by the governor what he meant by "fraud" in his statement that they had been deprived of their lands "by fraud," his answer was plainly and boldly given:

When one chief has land beyond the river, and another chief has land on this side, both bounded by rivers, mountains and springs, which cannot be moved, and the proprietaries, ready to purchase lands, buy of one chief what belongs to another, this likewise is fraud." In regard to the lands on the Delaware, he said his people had never been satisfied since the treaty [release] of 1737. The boundary of the land then sold was to have gone only "as far as a man could walk in a day and a half from Nashamony creek," yet the person who measured the ground did not walk, but ran. He was, moreover, as they supposed, to follow the winding bank of the river, whereas he went in a straight line. And because the Indians had been unwilling to give up the land as far as the "walk" extended, the governor sent for their cousins, the Six Nations, to come down and drive them from the land. When the Six Nations came down, the *Lenapes* met them for the purpose of explaining why they did not give up the land; but the English made so many presents to the Six Nations that their ears were stopped. They would listen to no explanations; and Canasatego had abused them, and called them women. The Six Nations had, however, given to them and the *Shawanoes* the lands upon the Susquehanna and Juniatta for hunting grounds, and had so informed the governor; but notwithstanding this the white men were allowed to go and settle upon those lands. Two years ago, moreover, the governor had been to Albany to buy some land of the Six Nations, and had described the boundaries by points of compass, which the Indians did not understand, by which the deeds were made to include lands both upon the Susquehanna and the Juniatta which they did not intend to sell. When all these things were known to the Indians, they had declared that they would no longer be friends to the English, who were trying to get all their country away from them. He had come now to smoke the pipe of peace with them, and hoped that justice might be done to his people.

He also gave instances of forged deeds under which lands were claimed that had never been sold, adding "this is fraud."

All that was accomplished at this meeting was an agreement to a truce, with the understanding that a peace would

be made upon the basis that Tedyuscung and his people should be allowed to remain upon their lands in Wyoming, and that another meeting should be called at which all the parties interested might be present and settle the details. This was held at Easton in July of the following year [1757]. At this conference Tedyuscung insisted upon having his own secretary; this Governor Morris at first refused, but, being informed by George Croghan that to deny this request would result in breaking up the meeting, yielded the point; and Charles Thompson, who had taken the minutes at the previous meeting, was appointed. As Tedyuscung's speech on this occasion explains the causes of the Indian complaints more fully than appears elsewhere, it is given here as recorded by his secretary:

The Complaints I made last Fall I yet continue. I think some Lands have been bought by the Proprietary or his Agents from Indians who had not a Right to sell, and to whom the Lands did not belong. I think also when some Lands have been sold to the Proprietary by Indians who had a Right to sell to a certain Place, whether that Purchase was to be measured by Miles or Hours Walk, that the Proprietaries have, contrary to Agreement or Bargain, taken in more Lands than they ought to have done, and Lands that belonged to others. I therefore now desire you will produce the Writings and Deeds by which you hold the Land, and let them be read in publick and examined, that it may be fully known from what Indians you have bought the Lands you hold, and how far your Purchases extend, that Copies of the whole may be laid before King George, and published to all the Provinces under his Government. What is fairly bought and paid for I make no farther Demands about. But if any Lands have been bought of Indians, to whom these Lands did not belong, and who had no Right to sell them, I expect a Satisfaction for these Lands. And if the Proprietaries have taken in more Lands than they bought of the true Owners, I expect likewise to be paid for that. But as the Persons to whom the Proprietaries may have sold these Lands, which of Right belonged to me, have made some Settlements, I do not want to disturb them, or to force them to leave them, but I expect a full Satisfaction shall be made to the true Owners for these Lands, tho' the Proprietaries, as I said before, might have bought them from Persons that had no Right to sell them. As we intend to settle at Wyomen, we want to have certain Boundaries fixed between you and us, and a certain Tract of Land fixed, which it shall not be lawful for us or our Children ever to sell, nor for you or

any of your Children ever to buy. We would have the Boundaries fixed all around agreeable to the Draught we give you [here he drew a Draught with Chalk on the Table], that we may not be pressed on any Side, but have a certain Country fixed for our Use and the Use of our Children for ever. And as we intend to make a Settlement at Wyomen, and to build different Houses from what we have done heretofore, such as may last not only for a little Time, but for our Children after us ; we desire you will assist us in making our Settlements, and send us Persons to instruct us in building Houses, and in making such Necessaries as shall be needful ; and that Persons be sent to instruct us in the Christian Religion, which may be for our future Welfare, and to instruct our Children in Reading and Writing ; and that a fair Trade be established between us, and such Persons appointed to conduct and manage these Affairs as shall be agreeable to us.

The governor endeavored to have the subject referred to Sir William Johnson for final decision. The Indians refused to agree to this, but consented that all the papers, including copies of the deeds, should be transmitted by him to the King of England. The results were that the ignominy of being considered women was formally removed from the Delawares ; and all that Tedyuscung had contended for was granted by the king. This was a complete triumph for Tedyuscung ; the diplomacy of the Indian warrior had prevailed over that of Pennsylvania's governor and all the unfair and unprincipled artifices to which he had resorted to gain his ends. Tedyuscung's unfortunate propensity for intoxicating drinks was used to its full extent to balk his purpose, but without avail ; he knew his claims were just, and all his efforts were given to the one great struggle to obtain them. Peace was made, and Pennsylvania commenced again that rapid growth which has placed her so near the front among the states of the Union, though the clouds were not all dispersed.

The treaty by Tedyuscung, though favorable to the Delawares remaining in Pennsylvania, was displeasing to the Delawares and Shawnees of Ohio, and to the Senecas who had backed Tedyuscung in his efforts. The Senecas were probably dissatisfied because the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming were not forced to remove. These

Indians, ostensibly on a mission of peace, visited Wyoming in April, 1763, and, after lingering about for several days, one night treacherously fired the house of the unsuspecting chief, which, with the veteran himself, was burned to ashes. Remaining on the ground, they inspired the followers of the murdered chieftain with the belief that the work had been done by the Connecticut settlers. Stimulated by these representations, the infuriated Delawares fell upon the unsuspecting whites and massacred about thirty, drove off their cattle, rifled their stores, and at night applied the torch to the dwellings and barns. We quote the sequel as given by Ruttenber:

The fall of Teedyuscung accomplished the purpose which its perpetrators had designed,—the Lenapes were consolidated in interest, and the alliances of the Senecas made complete. The governor of Pennsylvania sent troops to the scene of conflict, but the immediate participants in the massacre anticipated their arrival and withdrew to Tioga, while the Moravian Indians, who had taken no part in the transaction, removed to Gnadenhütten. Failing to reach the guilty, a band of lawless whites determined to punish the innocent, and with a hatred born of the pernicious teachings of Church, banded together to exterminate the whole Indian race, “that the saints might possess the land.” Sixty in number, these maddened zealots fell upon the Canestogoes, a small clan of Oneida dependants residing upon their reservation in the most inoffensive manner, hacked their chief to pieces in his bed, murdered three men, two women and a boy, and burnt their houses. But few of the Indians were at home, being absent selling their little wares among the people. On their return, the magistrates of Lancaster collected them and placed them in one of the public buildings for protection. Thither they were followed by the fanatics, the building broken open and the massacre commenced. “When the poor wretches saw they had no protection, and that they could not escape, and being without the least weapon of defense, they divided their little families, the children clinging to their parents; they fell on their faces, protested their innocence, declared their love for the English, and that in their whole lives they had never done them any harm, and in this posture they received the hatchet. Men, women and children, infants clinging to the breast, were all inhumanly butchered in cold blood.”

The Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten fled to Philadelphia and were followed thither by their maddened persecutors, whose numbers now swelled to an insurgent army. The governor called the troops for the protection of the fugitives; the Indians begged that they might be sent

to England. An attempt was made to send them to the Mohawk country; but after proceeding as far as Amboy, they were recalled. Another season of terror ensued, and the governor hid himself away in the house of Dr. Franklin. The Quakers were alone equal to the occasion, and firmly resisted the intended bloodshed. Persuaded to listen to the voice of reason, the insurgents at length abandoned their murderous purposes and returned to their homes, and the besieged Indians again sought rest in the wilderness.

The Delawares took part in Pontiac's war, "the ruined mills, deserted cabins, and fields waving with the harvest, but without reapers," bearing testimony to the too faithful performance of their part of the work of destruction east of the Alleghanies. There are traditions of warring between these Indians and the Catawbias of South Carolina, but the evidence is too fragmentary and uncertain to be relied upon.

As the further history of this tribe relates to transactions west of the Ohio and beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania and in connection with other tribes, it will, save a brief account of their wanderings, be given in another chapter.

As already seen from what precedes, a part of the tribe had moved beyond the mountains toward the west and were residing in the valley of the Ohio during the war upon the Pennsylvania settlements. In 1681, Penn put down in writing the following words to be made known to the Indians at their first meeting with his agents: "The king of the country where I live hath been pleased to give me a great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as brothers and friends, else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly in the world." Yet sixty years had not gone by before the pressure of the increasing white population began to crowd the tawny natives from their homes and haunts.

We are told that soon after 1683—the second year of Penn's colony—the Indians began to diminish by disease and migration. As early as 1690, a band of the Munsees

left for the far west, to unite with the Ottawas in Canada. Before the first quarter of the eighteenth century had passed, the pressure by the whites began to be felt, and the Indians most desirous of wider range were seeking homes on the headwaters of the Ohio in western Pennsylvania. Their first cabins are said to have been built there in 1724. As this little settlement was evidently strong in 1756, it must have received accessions from time to time. All that remained in the Delaware valley were, as we have seen, ordered by the Iroquois, at the treaty of Lancaster in 1742, to leave their ancient homes, of which they had, at least in part, been deprived by fraud, and remove to Shamokin and Wyoming on the Susquehanna. There must have been some movements at this time to the Ohio, as Conrad Weiser reported the number of warriors of the western settlement in 1748 as one hundred and sixty-five. In 1751, by invitation of the Wyandots, they began to form settlements in eastern Ohio; and in a few years,—the movement being accelerated by the Wyoming massacre,—the greater part of the tribe, including the Munsees, had settled upon the Muskingum and other streams in eastern Ohio, together with part of the Mohicans. The latter having been forced out by the same pressure, a part of them accompanied the Delawares in this migration and afterward became consolidated with them.

But the Delawares soon found that this was only a temporary resting place; the axe, the plow, and the sickle were following close on their footsteps; and receiving permission from the Miamis and Piankishaws to settle in their country, between Ohio and White Rivers in Indiana, they removed thither, where at one time they were settled in six villages. Having received permission in 1789 from Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, to settle in his territory, a band took advantage of the offer and removed in 1793 to what is now eastern Missouri; from there they afterward passed onward with a band of Shawnees to Arkansas, the two bands finally making their way to Texas in 1820. In the

meantime [1791], the missionary Zeisberger conducted his colony of Christian Indians from Ohio to Canada, and founded the town of Fairfield on Retrenche River.

The main body of the tribe, settled on Whitewater River, Indiana, made an attempt to rekindle here the national council fire, under the head chief Tedpachxit. Although the tract on which they located was granted them "in perpetuity" by the treaty of Vincennes in 1808, it was but ten years later when, at the treaty of St. Mary's, they ceded the whole of their lands "without reserve" to the United States, the government agreeing to remove them west of the Mississippi and grant them other lands there. This body numbered at the time about one thousand souls, of whom eight hundred were Delawares, the rest being Mohicans and Nanticokes. By 1835 the greater part of the tribe had been gathered on their reservation in Kansas, from which they were afterward [1867] removed to Indian Territory, where all except a very few who did not remove west of the Mississippi—less than one hundred—are now incorporated with the Cherokees. The Canada band—numbering one hundred and twenty-three in 1866—is settled with the Iroquois on Grand River, Ontario. The total number of the tribe in 1895 was about twelve hundred, exclusive of the Munsees.

Having thus traced the history of the Lenapes, the question may be asked: Had the policy outlined by Penn, as given above, been carried out strictly in practice, would the general result have been different? Our answer must be: No. The progress of diminution and removal would probably have been slower, and the bloodshed less, but the general result would have been the same. The peaceable relations between the Indians and colonists of New Jersey did not save the former; they had melted away or disappeared from their haunts, while their congeners of Pennsylvania were yet battling for their claims. The only hope of continued peaceful relations was the rapid civilization or absorption of the savages, neither of which was possible.

The policy outlined by Penn, though commendable, was visionary, save under exceptional conditions.

Of the government of the Lenapes it may be said that each totem—that is, each division, the Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf—recognized a chieftain, called sachem. According to Morgan, the office of sachem was, in later years, hereditary in the gens, but elective among its members. But Loskiel, on the authority of Zeisberger, says that the chief of each totem was chosen by the chiefs of the other totems. By common and ancient consent, the chief of the Turtle division was head chief of the whole Lenape nation. These, however, were peace chiefs, who could neither declare war nor lead the army; the latter function belonged to the war captains, who were selected because of their prowess in war or known ability as leaders.

The people of the tribe, when first encountered by the whites, depended largely upon the cultivation of the soil for their food supply. Their dwellings were not long communal houses like those of the Iroquois; each family had its separate residence, which is described as a “wattled hut, with rounded top, thatched with mats woven of the long leaves of maize or flags.” The manufacture of pottery of a rude description was carried on to a limited extent; but, on the other hand, their bead work and feather mantles and manner of dressing skins excited the admiration of the early voyagers. The arms used were the war club, the tomahawk, bow and arrow, and spear. Greater advance in symbolic writing appears to have been made by them than by any other tribe east of the Mississippi, except possibly the Micmacs. It seems to have been their custom in early times to have a common ossuary for each gens. Ruttenber mentions a Munsee burial ground on the east bank of the Neversink covering an area of six acres. In all of these ossuaries which have been opened, the skeletons were found in a sitting or doubled-up posture.

The Susquehanna Indians, also known as Andastes and Conestogas, may be considered as belonging to Pennsylvania,

though their territory extended into Maryland and their principal residence was for a time in the latter province. They were first seen by Captain John Smith on his voyage to the head of Chesapeake Bay. Abraham L. Guss (*Early Indian History on the Susquehanna*) expresses the opinion that Smith was on the borders of Pennsylvania when he met these Indians, whom he designates "Susquesahanocks." They are spoken of by him as giantlike in size; and it is stated that sixty of them "came down with presents of venison, tobacco, pipes three feet long, baskets, targets, bows and arrows." The writer above quoted gives as the supposed extent of their territory at that time: from the site of Baltimore, in Maryland, to Juniata River, and as far west in Maryland as Westminster. They were related to the Iroquois, and hence pertained to the Iroquoian stock, and were first known to the French of Canada as Andastes, though the location given is very indefinite; however, the investigations of J. G. Shea have shown that they were identical with the Susquehannas, and that the name "Conestogas" is merely a variant of "Andastes."

But little is known of their history. Their name appears in one or another of the forms given above at different times and places, but it is impossible to trace consecutively their waning fortunes. We hear of them engaging to assist Champlain and his allies in their expedition [1615] against the Iroquois strongholds; when the Hurons were battling for life with the same savage foes, they again tendered assistance, but the offer was allowed to pass unheeded. These propositions, however, were borne in mind by the Iroquois, and were repaid with heavy interest; for in 1657 they turned their arms against their kinsmen on the banks of the Susquehanna, and, though the latter contended bravely for nearly twenty years, they were finally overthrown in 1675. The greater number were then incorporated with their conquerors; while others, retreating southward, were nearly all massacred by the Maryland and Virginia troops. The last remnants, not incorporated in other tribes, were

butchered at Conestoga, in Pennsylvania, by the "Paxton Boys" in 1763.

In closing the history of the Indians of Pennsylvania, it may be stated that the policy of the colonial government in regard to the rights of the Indians in the lands was, notwithstanding what has been stated above in regard to the forms of the deeds and methods of measurement, correct in principle. The possessory right of the Indians was acknowledged, and it was recognized that this should be extinguished by purchase or other means satisfactory to them. The complaint was not against the theory adopted, but the method of carrying it out after William Penn's retirement from control.

By the close of the eighteenth century, or, at least, before the year 1810, all the land within the bounds of Pennsylvania, including the addition forming Erie County, had been purchased from the Indians.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIANS OF NEW YORK

VERRAZANO, the first white man to touch the borders of what is now New York State, sailed, as is generally believed, into New York harbor in 1524. The soil was still clothed with the primitive forest growth, save where interrupted by the village areas of the native inhabitants. The wondering natives crowded the shores to gaze upon the strange visitors, expressing in their pantomimic fashion their pleasure at the meeting. But lowering clouds and threatening storm hurried the white-winged vessel away from their sight. It was more than three-quarters of a century later when in 1609 the harbor was again visited by the white man, this time by Henry Hudson, whose name has been perpetuated in that of the stream whose waters mingle here with those of the ocean. However, our interest at present lies not with the navigators, but with the natives whom their visits brought to the knowledge of Europeans.

The Indians of Long Island appear to have been scattered over its area in small communities, each having its chief and district, and tribal or subtribal organization, somewhat after the manner of the Powhatan confederacy mentioned in a previous chapter. These minor tribes formed together the group known as the Montauk confederacy, from the ruling chieftaincy of the same name. The principal tribes whose names have been preserved were the Canarsees, who claimed the lands now included in Kings County, and a part of Jamaica; the Rockaways, who were scattered over

the southern part of Hempstead; the Merricks, from Near Rockaway to the west line of Oyster Bay; the Marsapeagues, at Fort Neck and thence eastward to Islip; the Matinecocks, from Newtown to Smithtown; the Nesaquakes, between Stony Brook and the tidal river which still bears their name; the Setaukets, at Little Neck; the Montauks, with their central seat upon Montauk; the Shinnecocks, about Sag Harbor and the south shore of Peconic Bay; and some four or five others of minor importance, located at different points upon the island.

Though it may appear somewhat strange, yet the historian is unable to give, with positive certainty, the particular tribe or subtribe occupying Manhattan Island at the time of the Dutch settlement. The name "Manhattans" has been applied to them, which seems to be confirmed by the name of the island, were it not for certain other facts which cast a doubt upon this conclusion. That this name was applied to Indians in that immediate section is admitted and easily proved by numerous references; yet the evidence is conclusive that it was not used by the Indians as designating a chieftaincy, but as a generic term including not only the native occupants of Manhattan Island, but also those, in part, of Long Island and the banks of the Hudson immediately north. "With the Manhattan," says Van der Donk, "we include those who live in the neighboring places along the North River, on Long Island, and at Neversink."—(Ruttenber, 77.) Another early authority, referring to Long Island, says: "It is inhabited by the old Manhatesen; they are about two hundred or three hundred strong, women and men, under different chiefs whom they call *sakimes* [sachems]." Another speaks of those on the east side—of the river—as Manhattans. The most probable conclusion, therefore, is that which makes them a branch of the Wappinger tribe, whose territory extended north from the site of New York City along the Hudson.

Returning to the Indians of Long Island, the story we have to tell is not a long one. All the natives of the

island, whom we may designate Montauks when speaking of them generally, were offshoots of or related to the Mohegan tribe, a member of the Algonquian family, and were, at the arrival of the Dutch, in some way not clearly defined, subordinate to them. During the wars of the Mohegans, the Montauks were subjugated by the Pequods, but after the destruction of that nation in 1637 the Mohegans again asserted their authority over them. About that time, or soon thereafter, the Montauks accepted the protection of the English of New Haven and paid tribute to them. After the terrible massacre of the Indians at Pavonia [Jersey City], which will be noticed more particularly hereafter, the Montauks joined with the other tribes in assisting the Weckquaesgeeks in retaliating upon the whites for this massacre of their people. The onset was sudden and unexpected; the victims were murdered while at work in their fields; the women and children were carried into captivity; "houses and bouweries, haystacks and grain, cattle and crops, were all destroyed."

The planting season now being at hand, the Indians of Long Island, who had previously rejected the overtures of peace made by Governor Kieft, who had become sensible of his error in bringing on a war, sent delegates to New Amsterdam asking that negotiations might be opened looking to a cessation of the war. The negotiations were conducted through Penhawitz, the recognized head chief of the Montauk confederacy, and a treaty of peace concluded.

The peace, which had been made with the other hostile tribes at the same time, was of short duration; for ere the year had closed, hostilities had again commenced, though there does not appear to be any evidence that the Long Island Indians were engaged. Nevertheless, an expedition was led against them by Underhill. A hundred and twenty Indians were killed, the whites having one man killed and three wounded. Seven prisoners were turned over to the tender mercy of Underhill, who, according to the account given, killed three in a cellar, towed two through the water,

and carried two to Fort Amsterdam, who were butchered in the presence of Governor Kieft in a manner too barbarous to be related here. This governor, if the account of this brutal murder be true, was more of a savage than the Indians. Peace, which proved permanent, was finally concluded through the mediation of Whiteneymen, chief of the Matinecocks.

A band of Montauks, together with some Mohegan, Pequod, and Narragansett Indians, under the leadership of Samson Occum, a Mohegan missionary, took up their residence in Oneida County, New York, in 1788, but subsequently, under the name of Brothertons, removed to Wisconsin. Reservations were assigned to those remaining on the island. On the Shinnecock reservation there were, in 1896, about two hundred of the tribe, the last survivors of the Long Island Indians, but much degraded by negro admixture. The last one of pure blood died in 1894. The reservation embraces the land formerly held in common between Canoe Place and Shinnecock Hills. In 1703, it was deeded to the town of Southampton by the Indian sachems, and the same day was leased by the town to the Shinnecoeks for one thousand years, at a yearly rent of one ear of Indian corn.

The two principal tribes on the Hudson were the Mohegans and the Wappingers, the latter being a tribal division of the former. The territory of the Wappingers, whose history is to be noticed next, following the order of geographical position, extended north and south on the east side of the Hudson from the north side of the Highlands to the island of Manhattan, and eastward nearly, if not quite, to Connecticut River.

The Wappinger tribe, which was a more compact organization than the Montauk confederacy, was, like the latter, composed of a number of subtribes, or chieftaincies. These, as given by Ruttenber in his *History of the Indian Tribes of the Hudson River*, were as follows:

The Reckgawawancs, often mentioned by historians under the name Manhattans; their principal village was

on the site of Yonkers, and their territory extended eastward to Broncks River. The Weckquaesgeeks, whose principal village was on the site of Dobb's Ferry; their territory probably extended from Norwalk on the Sound to the Hudson. The Sint-Sinks, whose name is perpetuated in the town of Sing-Sing. The Kitchawongs, whose territory extended from Croton River north to Anthony's Nose. The Tankitekes, occupying the area embraced [1872] in the towns of Darien, Stamford, and New Canaan, in Connecticut, and Poundridge, Bedford, and Greenbush, in Westchester County. The Nochpeems, occupying the highlands north of Anthony's Nose. The Siwanoy, a large division known as one of the "seven tribes of the seacoast"; their territory extended from Norwalk to the vicinity of Hell Gate. The Sequins, also a large chieftaincy, located on the west bank of Connecticut River. The Wappingers were located on the north side of the Highlands. This chieftaincy was recognized as the head of the tribal organization.

There is but little history of these several chieftaincies as distinct from that of the tribe. The Indians who came into conflict with Hudson in 1609 appear to have been of the Reckgawawanc, or Manhattan, chieftaincy. In this case it is evident, from the account given in Hudson's *Journal*, that the conflict was brought on through a want of forbearance and prudence on the part of the English rather than through an intention on the part of the Indians to make an attack. In fact, the killing of a number of the natives was an unnecessary act of cruelty. From that time until the end of Dutch dominion, there was antagonism between the whites and Indians of the immediately surrounding regions. The hostility thus aroused by a want of prudence and the dictates of humanity was increased rather than allayed by the subsequent actions of the colonists.

Minor acts of depredation followed by retaliation were committed on both sides, but led to no open hostilities until Kieft had succeeded to the directorship. The war which now followed involved other Indians with the Wappingers.

In 1643, a party of eighty Mohegans with firearms made a descent upon the Manhattan Indians for the purpose of collecting tribute which had been withheld. Surprised and unable with their inferior arms to cope with their adversaries, after seventy of their number had been slain the remainder of the Manhattans fled to Fort Amsterdam, begging for protection. The Dutch kindly cared for them for fourteen days; but becoming again alarmed they fled to various points, some going to Pavonia, now Jersey City, and others to Rechtauk, now Corlear's Hook, the latter occupying some cabins which had been erected by the Reckgawawancs. Kieft, deeming this an opportune moment to strike the blow he had been contemplating, ordered that the Indians should be attacked simultaneously at two points, Pavonia and Corlear's Hook. The plan was executed on the night of February 25th. We give the details in the words of one who speaks of what he witnessed:

I remained that night at the governor's, sitting up. I went and sat in the kitchen, when, about midnight, I heard a great shrieking, and I ran to the ramparts of the fort, and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing, and heard the shrieks of the Indians murdered in their sleep. I returned again to the house by the fire. Having sat there awhile, there came an Indian with his squaw, whom I knew well, and who lived about an hour's walk from my house, and told me that they two had fled in a small skiff; that they had betaken themselves to Pavonia; that the Indians from Fort Orange had surprised them; and that they had come to conceal themselves in the fort. I told them that they must go away immediately; that there was no occasion for them to come to the fort to conceal themselves; that they who had killed their people at Pavonia were not Indians, but the Swannekens, as they call the Dutch, had done it. They then asked me how they should get out of the fort. I took them to the door, and there was no sentry there, and so they betook themselves to the woods. When it was day the soldiers returned to the fort, having massacred or murdered eighty Indians, and considering they had done a deed of Roman valour, in murdering so many in their sleep; where infants were torn from their mothers' breasts, and hacked to pieces in the presence of the parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and other sucklings were bound to small boards, and then cut, stuck, and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavored to

save them, the soldiers would not let them come on land, but made both parents and children drown,—children from five to six years of age, and also some old and decrepit persons. Many fled from this scene, and concealed themselves in the neighboring sedge, and when it was morning, came out to beg a piece of bread, and to be permitted to warm themselves; but they were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the water. Some came by our lands in the country with their hands, some with their legs cut off, and some holding their entrails in their arms, and others had such horrible cuts, and gashes, that worse than they were could never happen. And these poor simple creatures, as also many of our own people, did not know any better than that they had been attacked by a party of other Indians,—the Maquas. After this exploit, the soldiers were rewarded for their services, and Director Kieft thanked them by taking them by the hand and congratulating them.—(David P. de Vries in *Coll. New York Hist. Soc.*, 2d Ser., i, 115–116.)

That such deeds would not be allowed to pass without retaliation, all the New Netherlanders, save Kieft and his colleagues, fully expected. The excitement of these events had scarcely passed ere the work of revenge commenced and the Dutch settlers began to pay the penalty with their blood. The outlying colonists were the first to feel the blow, and fled to Fort Amsterdam for protection, upbraiding the director as the cause of the calamities which had befallen them. The temporary peace of 1643, already mentioned, delayed the war for a brief space, but ere the year had passed the Wappingers again commenced hostilities. Trading boats were seized, the occupants slain, and their goods carried off; settlements were attacked, the houses pillaged and burned, and the inhabitants who failed to make their escape were slaughtered or else carried into captivity. It was at this time that Ann Hutchinson, a woman of some note, who had been banished from Massachusetts with Roger Williams, was killed, and her plantation on Pelham's Neck destroyed. "From the Neversinks to the valley of the Tappans, . . . was once more in possession of its aboriginal lords." Fort Amsterdam was the only place of refuge, and to this shelter the frightened colonists fled. There, we are informed, women and children lay concealed in straw huts, while their husbands and fathers mounted

guard on the ramparts above. The colonists were now forced to experience the bitter results of Kieft's unwise and cruel policy; the foe was at the very doors of their last and only place of refuge. We find it stated, in the old Colonial records, that the Indians "rove in parties continually around day and night on the island of Manhattans, slaying our folks not a thousand paces from the fort, and 'tis now arrived at such a pass, that no one dare move a foot to fetch a stick of fire wood without a strong escort." The Wappingers of Connecticut River, who had but recently learned the truth in regard to the massacre of Pavonia and Corlear's Hook, sent their warriors to assist their brethren in the work of revenge. It was well then for the Dutch that the Indians failed to realize their own strength and the weakness of the colony: fifteen hundred men to two hundred and fifty, with only a wall or two between them.

Aid was asked of New England; and though the official reply was a negative, assigning as a reason that it did not appear that the Dutch were justifiable in their course, some English volunteers, led by the notorious Captain Underhill, whose savage treatment of the Long Island Indians has been mentioned, came to their assistance. With this addition to their force, the work of retaliation commenced. The expedition to Long Island has already been noticed. Another was sent against the Weckquaesgeeks, which accomplished but little save the burning of two strongholds. The third, led by Underhill against the same Indians, was more successful. The attack was on a village in the vicinity of Stamford. Piloted by an Indian through the snow and over the stony hills, they arrived in the evening about three miles from the village. Halting until ten o'clock at night, they hurried forward, hoping to find the inhabitants asleep and unprepared, though the full moon lighted up the scene. In this they were disappointed; the Indians, who had assembled here in considerable numbers, were holding their annual festival, and were wide awake and on their guard. "So that," remarks the narrator, "ours determined to charge

and surround the houses sword in hand." The carnage began, and in a brief space of time one hundred and eighty Indians lay dead on the outside of the houses. The others, having crowded into the dwellings, defended themselves as best they could, discharging their arrows through the openings. But defence was of no avail; the torch soon rendered their shelter untenable. They attempted to escape, but, seeing that it was only to be cut down by the besiegers, returned to their burning houses, choosing to perish in the flames rather than to cast themselves upon the tender mercies of the whites. "What was most wonderful," says the narrator, "is that among this vast collection of men, women, and children, not one was heard to cry or scream." Five hundred perished; "our God," piously adds the chronicler, "having collected together there the greater part of our enemies to celebrate one of their festivals, from which escaped no more than eight men in all, of whom even those were severely wounded."

The result of this severe punishment was an application by the Indians for a treaty of peace. This was effected, be it said as one act worthy of praise, through the intervention of Underhill. The Sint-Sink, Weckquaesgeek, Nochpeem, and Wappinger Indians presented themselves at Fort Amsterdam in 1644, and pledged themselves to cease hostilities, the Dutch agreeing not to molest them. A treaty of peace was thereupon concluded. This was soon followed by a like treaty with the other hostile chieftaincies, and thus terminated a war which had been waged for more than five years.

Although this peace inspired the colonists with the hope that hostilities were to end, this expectation was doomed to disappointment. However, as the war was now shifted to another quarter, and other tribes were the chief participants, we will first follow briefly the fortunes of the Wappinger tribe.

The year following the treaty of peace had not passed before these Indians were again in difficulty with the Dutch,

which resulted in a few deaths on each side; but Stuyvesant, who was then director, managed to heal the breach. In 1663, they acted as intermediaries between the Dutch and warring Indians in obtaining an exchange of prisoners. The next year, rumors reached the director that the English were trying to engage the Wappinger and some other tribes in a general revolt, but the effort failed, if, in fact, it was made. In 1689, they joined the English in their war with the French, sending all their males able to bear arms to the field, except a few who it seems had joined the French. In 1756, those of Dutchess County, with a number of Mohegans from the upper Hudson, removed to the Iroquois country, being assigned lands at Otsiningo near the Nanticokes. Here, it seems, they enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity; ministers of the Gospel came among them, through whose influence they made such advance that the Mohawks sent their children to their schools for instruction, "and the Oneidas were proud to hail them as brothers." They, together with the Mohegans, joined the Americans in the Revolutionary struggle. Active in the campaign of 1777, they joined Washington again in 1778, and were detached with the forces under Lafayette to check the depredations of the British on their retreat from Philadelphia. But it is unnecessary to follow them through the scenes of that war. When the conflict ended in victory for the Republic, they returned to their home in New York; but being absorbed into the Brotherton association, they moved with its members to Wisconsin and became extinct as a tribe.

Proceeding northward up the Hudson, next above the Wappingers dwelt the Mohegans, or Mahicans, their territory extending from the border of the country of the former northward to some distance above Albany, partly on the west side, but chiefly on the east side of the Hudson, extending eastward to Connecticut River. There were two chief divisions of the Mohegan group: the one here spoken of—the western—as living along the Hudson and eastward to Connecticut River, and the other, the eastern Mohegans,

located in the eastern part of Connecticut, near the Pequods. Rutenber and some more recent authorities, seemingly to avoid confusion, have applied the name "Mahicans" [or Mohicans] to the western division, and Mohegan to the eastern division of the tribe. However, as the names are synonymous, "Mohegan" will be retained here, the reference in this chapter being only to the western or larger division. It is generally believed, and apparently with good reason, that most of the New England tribes, especially those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were offshoots from or congeners of the Mohegans. As the Wappingers and Montauks were also related to these groups and were descendants from the same ancestral stem, we are perhaps justified in classifying the Delawares and Mohegans as cognate tribes.

The first recorded notice of the western Mohegans is that of Hudson's visit, when he sailed up the river now bearing his name, in 1609. At a point near Katskill he met a "very loving people and very old men"; they brought him maize, pumpkins, and tobacco, and used him well. At another point, Schodac or Castleton, they were also very friendly. There is one remark by Hudson in regard to these Indians worthy of notice because of its reference to some of their customs. He says he went ashore in one of their canoes, with an old man who was chief of a tribe—or chieftaincy—consisting of forty men and seventeen women. Those he saw were in a house constructed of oak bark, circular in form, with an arched roof. It contained a quantity of corn and beans of the preceding year's growth, while there lay outside, ready for drying, "enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields." Mats were brought to sit upon, and food was served them in wooden bowls.

But little has been recorded in reference to the chieftaincies or subdivisions of the Mohegans as distinct from the general history of the tribe. However, the following are mentioned, using the old orthography: the Mahican [or

Mohegan], Wiekagjock, Meckkentowoon, Wawyachtonock, and Westenhuck. Each of these bands or subtribes had a chief sachem, chosen from the descendants of the royal line on the mother's side. This sachem was assisted in the government by councillors, also by three other officers, one denominated "the Hero," another "the Owl," and another "the Runner." The councillors were elective; the Hero was the war chief; the Owl, the orator; and the Runner, the messenger. The totems among these bands or subtribes were the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle.

When the Dutch formed a settlement at Albany, the Mohegans, together with the Iroquois, made a covenant of friendship with them; and in 1645, during the difficulties with the Indians about Fort Amsterdam, Kieft visited Fort Orange and renewed this treaty with them and the Mohawks. They were at war with the Mohawks in 1656, but Stuyvesant succeeded in establishing peace between them in 1662.

War again commenced between them and the Mohawks in 1664; the Mohegans, who began hostilities, ravaged the whole country on the east side of North River, and so weakened the Mohawks that the latter in 1669 asked protection from the French. In 1680, they sold most of their lands on the west side of the Hudson to Van Rensselaer, and soon thereafter tracts on the east side of the river. Their attack on the Manhattans for neglect to pay tribute has already been mentioned. In 1660, three of their chiefs visited Fort Amsterdam for the purpose of bringing about a treaty of peace between the Dutch and the Esopus Indians. In 1726, a considerable number of them removed to Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, and settled by the Munsees and Shawnees. A portion of them, as has been mentioned, removed with the Wappingers to Otsiningo in the Iroquois country; others kept their council fires burning in the valley of the Housatonic, and when the great struggle by the Colonies for freedom came on, cast their lot with Washington's party and fought bravely to the end,

even the great white chief bearing testimony to their valor. In 1785, they removed to Oneida and Madison Counties, New York. Here they remained until 1821, when they removed to Wisconsin, where, with other New York Indians, they had purchased a tract of land from the Menominees and Winnebagoes.

Our history brings us now to the Iroquois, the Romans of the New World, a native confederacy whose deeds and prowess have fixed the boundary line between the two leading powers represented in America, and loosened the hold of another on her possessions in North America. However, it is not the intention to treat of them in this chapter further than bears upon their relations with the New York Colonial Government and their early contests with southern tribes; their relations with the French and their native allies will be given in another place. Their history in this colony begins with them as a confederacy known as "The Five Nations," or five tribes located east and west along the central part of New York in the following order, beginning at the east: first, the Mohawks, on Mohawk River; then the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas; and lastly, the Senecas, at the western end of the series. The villages of the Mohawks were chiefly located in the valley of Mohawk River, on the south side. The principal towns of the Oneidas were around and in the vicinity of Lake Oneida. The Onondagas were seated in the valley of Onondaga River and on the adjacent hills. The settlements of the Cayugas were on the eastern shore of Cayuga Lake, and the ridge to the east. The Senecas, who formed the most populous tribe of the confederacy, were scattered over the areas now embraced in the counties of Ontario and Monroe, and ultimately over the greater part of western New York.

The first notice of the Iroquois received by the settlers in the south was through Captain John Smith on his visit to the head of Chesapeake Bay. Here he was informed by the Susquehannas he met there that they were harassed by a

warlike people called Massawomecks, who made all the Indians fear them. These, as is now universally conceded, were the Iroquois, who continued their warring upon the "down river people" [Susquehannas], though their kindred, until, as we have seen, naught is left to tell us of their existence save their fragmentary history gathered from the early records and their name perpetuated in that of Pennsylvania's chief river. The Iroquois were also at war in 1671 with the Shawnees in the Ohio valley, whom they claim to have conquered and brought under subjection, though this is doubtful. Their frequent expeditions against the Catawbas and the smaller tribes of Virginia and the Carolinas have been alluded to in the chapters on the "Southern Atlantic Colonies," and their contests with the Shawnees will be noticed in a later chapter.

After the destruction of the Huron and Neuter tribes, the Iroquois turned their arms against the Eries, or Cat nation. The latter tribe, which appears to have been a member of the Iroquoian stock, was located immediately south of Lake Erie, their territory extending into western New York nearly or quite to Genesee River—the western frontier of the Seneca territory. Their history consists of little more than their name, the statement of their existence, and of their destruction about 1655 by the same besom which swept from the land so many other peoples. Their destruction by the Iroquois was so complete that inquiring historians have earnestly sought them in other tribes and under other names in vain. They dash across the horizon of American history as a meteor which is seen for a moment and then disappears. It is said that their warriors were brave, fought with poisoned arrows, and were long a terror to the neighboring Senecas; nevertheless, their brief history is only a single episode in the history of the Five Nations.

The Iroquois tribes, soon after the Dutch planted their settlement at the mouth of the Hudson, entered into an alliance with them, which continued without a serious breach by either party until the latter were superseded by

the English in 1664. The English, immediately after taking possession, also entered into friendly relations with these Indians, which remained unbroken up to the war of the Revolution. The Dutch began to supply these tribes with firearms about 1640, which fact must be borne in mind in following the history of the success of these Indians in their wars with other natives after that date.

When the war between the French and Iroquois closed for the time being, after the chastisement inflicted upon the latter by Frontenac [1689], as hereafter mentioned [Chapter X.], a summing-up of results showed that the losses of the confederated tribes and their allies aggregated nearly one-half the number engaged. The Mohawks, Oneidas, and Senecas were the chief participants, the Senecas alone being reduced from thirteen hundred warriors to six hundred. In addition to this loss, their forces were further reduced by the withdrawal of the Praying Indians, who took up their permanent residence about four leagues above Montreal, and who laid the foundation of the body subsequently known as the Conewango nation. These Indians, who were deserters from the Mohawks and river Indians, were induced to this course—as asserted—through the influence of the French missionaries. “They became,” says Schoolcraft, “a thorn to the frontier towns and settlements of New England during the whole of the French war, and of the American Revolution.” They numbered in 1745 two hundred and thirty fighting men.

Soon after 1713, the Tuscaroras, who had been signally defeated in their southern home, removed to New York and became the sixth nation of the confederacy, though they never, it seems, enjoyed the full privileges in the general council granted to the other members. When requested by Governor Clinton in 1744 to take up the hatchet against the French, the confederacy decided to remain neutral so long as none of their friends or allies were attacked. This neutrality was maintained until 1746, when the French and their Indian allies became the aggressors by invading the neutral

territory. However, nothing more than a petty warfare resulted. Braddock's defeat was most disastrous to the English, as will appear in a future chapter; for the Indians, ever desirous of being on the winning side, could easily change their alliances to follow the shifting of the winds of fortune. The Senecas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, doubting the final success of the English, in 1757 threw off the disguise of friendship they had professed for the latter, and sent messengers to the French, declaring for peace and agreeing to remain neutral between the contending powers. The arms of Pontiac's conspiracy were even then reaching out to gather in the hosts for the one great effort to crush the English colonies; the Senecas joined the movement with one thousand warriors; but the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and most of the Tuscaroras remained firm to their covenant as neutrals. Sir William Johnson threw his powerful influence into the scale, and, New Jersey and Connecticut joining him, an army eleven hundred strong was soon upon the heels of the faithless Senecas. Seeing the threatening clouds gathering about them, and the visions of burning homes and wasted fields, the Senecas turned again and, by a deputation of four hundred of their best men, sought of Johnson peace, with a promise to cease hostilities and war no more against the English.

The American Revolution was the critical period in the history of the Iroquoian confederacy. When the struggle between the colonies and the mother country began, the minds of the tribes,—except the Senecas,—like the heart of their great counsellor, were torn with contending emotions. They had been throughout the firm friends of the English; now the house was divided against itself, English had turned their weapons against English. Their great father across the water sought their aid against his rebellious subjects, while the latter, pleading the justness of their cause, only asked them to remain neutral and not embroil themselves in the great family quarrel. The strain upon Johnson was too great to be borne; he was hurried to his

grave by mental distress, if not, as many believed, by his own act. The Iroquois were uncertain and divided as to the course they should pursue. Thus urged by both parties, they, at first, resolved in general council at Onondaga to have nothing to do with the hatchet, "but to support their engagements," in other words, to remain passive, taking part with neither side; and again, at Albany, decided upon the same course, though it is doubtful whether all the tribes were represented at the latter meeting. Nevertheless, Joseph Brant [Thayendanegea], whose name, unfortunately, soon became too well known, and a large portion of the Mohawk tribe remained firm in their adherence to Guy Johnson, son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, the representative of the British interests after the death of Sir William. Molly Brant, a sister of Joseph, was the second wife—or mistress, as the marriage is questioned—of Sir William, and Joseph for some time previous to his death had acted as his secretary, hence the strong tie between the families.

Brant, who had been carried to England and feasted and honored in order to bind him to the interests of the Royalists, succeeded, on his return, in gathering together an army of some five hundred warriors, recruited chiefly from the Mohawks but partly from other tribes, though still maintaining nominally the position of neutrals. However, when actual hostilities began, the agreement to remain neutral was brought to the final test. The Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and all the Mohawks, except a single band known as the Praying Mohawks, declared themselves on the side of the king, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras being the only tribes that remained firm in their position as neutrals. It is stated that not more than eight hundred warriors of the confederacy were at any one time under the British; but this estimate differs from that of a British agent, as given by Joshua V. H. Clark in his *Onondaga*. According to this estimate, the British had in their service 300 Mohawks, 300 Onondagas, 400 Senecas, 230 Cayugas, 150 Oneidas, and 200 Tuscaroras, making 1,580 in all. This, however, is

probably erroneous in that it includes the larger part of the Oneida and Tuscarora warriors, who refused to take active part with the English.

At the beginning of the campaign they were joined with troops which, acting in connection with Burgoyne's army as he moved down from Canada, were sent to attack the fortified points more remote from his route. The Indians, led by Brant, were united with the forces under St. Leger. Their first attack was on Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix. At this time the Indians with Brant numbered about seven hundred. The chief part taken by the Indians was at the battle of Oriskany, near by, where General Herkimer, coming to the relief of the garrison with a force of some eight hundred or a thousand men, was ambushed by them and Colonel Butler's Rangers. For a time the division, being thrown into disorder, was threatened with annihilation. General Herkimer, though his leg was shattered by a musket ball, continued in command of his forces. "Never," says William L. Stone in his *Life of Joseph Brant*, "did brave men stand a charge with more dauntless courage, and the enemy, for the moment, seemed to recoil—just at the instant when the work of death was arrested by a heavy shower of rain which suddenly broke upon the combatants with great fury."

The battle, which was suspended for the moment, was renewed as soon as the storm had passed. "The parties once more rushed upon each other with bayonet and spear, grappling and fighting with terrible fury. . . . Such a conflict as this could not be continued long; and the Indians, perceiving with what ardor the Provincials maintained the fight, and finding their own numbers sadly diminished, now raised the retreating cry of 'Oonah!' and fled in every direction, under the shouts and hurrahs of the surviving Provincials and a shower of bullets. Finding, moreover, from the firing at the fort that their presence was necessary elsewhere, the Greens and Rangers now retreated precipitately, leaving the victorious militia of Tryon County

masters of the field.”—(Stone.) The Indians lost about one hundred men in the battle. During the fight, the besieged colonists made a sortie from the fort, led by Colonel Willet, completely routing the besiegers under Sir John Johnson and capturing their camp and equipage.

The battle of Oriskany was the beginning of the border war of the “Old New York Frontier”; here began the hostilities that desolated the Susquehanna, Delaware, Schoharie, and Mohawk valleys. The war, so far as the Iroquois were concerned, was no longer for the purpose of assisting the British to crush the rebellion, but for revenge. After the battle of Oriskany, Brant, angered at the Oneidas because they had refused to accede to his overtures, taking a party of his warriors, fell upon them, burned their wigwams, destroyed their crops, and drove away their cattle. Retaliation was swift; for hardly had he retired, before the Oneidas ravaged the estate of Molly Johnson, widow of Sir William, drove her and her family from home, and carried away her goods and cattle. Next they attacked the Lower Mohawk settlement, compelling the inhabitants to fly to Canada for safety.

The defeat of Burgoyne at Bennington had the effect of greatly dampening the ardor of the Indians in their support of the royal cause; moreover, the army discipline was distasteful to them, hence they began to drop away. Some of them joined the colonists; and when the final surrender of the British army came, few if any Indians remained in its ranks. However, Brant managed to hold a considerable force so long as he led them on in warfare after the Indian fashion. His attacks were carried on, at least in part, in coöperation with the British officer, Colonel John Butler; but it is unnecessary to follow the bloody trail in all its harrowing details; a brief notice of some of the chief incidents must suffice. On May 30, 1778, Brant reached Cobleskill with three or four hundred men; there the tomahawk and torch began their work of death and destruction. On June 18th, Springfield was destroyed,

then Androstown, and other settlements on Otsego Lake. A party of two hundred and fifty, partly Tories, swept down the valley of the Delaware as far as Minisink, killing some of the settlers, taking others as prisoners, and driving off the cattle, sheep, and other stock to Oghwaga, their rallying point. The terrible massacre at Wyoming, the echoes of which have floated down a century and a quarter, cannot be charged directly upon Brant, for he was absent at the time; the leader on this occasion was the greater savage—Colonel John Butler. However, seven hundred Indians, mostly Senecas, of Brant's band, were present to add brutality to the bloody episode. Throughout the valley the torch and tomahawk completed the work of desolation. It was here that Catherine Montour, a half-breed known as Queen Esther among the Senecas, assumed the rôle of executioner, and, taking a maul and tomahawk, passed around the ring of prisoners, who had been arranged at her bidding, deliberately chanted the death song, "and murdered her victims to its cadences in consecutive order." Forts, houses, barns, grain, and cattle were destroyed; the homes of five hundred settlers were laid waste, their occupants made fugitives, and their dead left unburied. Indians were used as the executioners, and the blood of innocent and peaceful settlers shed, to compel Washington to weaken his forces at the front. It is not strange then that one so humane should state in his instructions to General Sullivan, in his expedition against the Iroquois, that "the immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements."

Next we hear of Brant at German Flats; and though the inhabitants found shelter in the forts, their homes were reduced to ashes. Cherry Valley was next to feel the storm, and, though Brant was present with his Indians, on this occasion the chief savage was a white man—Walter Butler; even Brant himself was constrained to include him among those "more savage than the savages themselves."

However, the day of retribution was close at hand; a storm from the east was rising over the "Long House,"

which was destined to break asunder, beam and post, and scatter the fragments, never to be united again in a single structure.

General Sullivan was on his way to the Iroquois country to chastise the Indians for the numerous depredations and cruel massacres of which they were guilty. The first conflict was at Newtown, where Brant with his Indians, and the Tories under Sir John Johnson and the Butlers, had decided to make a stand, and had thrown up embankments. Though the royal forces were defeated and forced to make a hasty retreat, the losses on both sides were small. It was through Brant's skilful leadership that the British army was saved from destruction. "Such was the commanding presence of the great Indian captain," writes a contemporary, "and such the degree of confidence he inspired, that his undisciplined warriors stood their ground like veterans for more than half an hour as the shot went crashing through the tree tops, or plowing up the earth under their feet, and shells went screeching over their heads or bursting in their ranks, while high above the roar of the artillery and the rattle of small arms could be heard the voice of Brant, encouraging his men to the conflict, and over the heads of all, his crested plume could be seen waving where the conflict was likely to be most sharp."

Immediately after this battle, Sullivan began the work of destroying the Indian towns. Among these were the following: one, two miles above Newtown, with eight houses; Kanawaholla, with twenty; Catherinetown, with some thirty or forty good houses; Kendaia, with twenty houses of hewn logs, some of them painted; Kanadesaga, with fifty houses, and thirty others near by; Skoiyase, with eighteen houses; Shenanwaga, with twenty houses; Kanan-daigua, with twenty-three elegant houses, some of them framed; Honeoye, with twenty houses; Kanaghshaws, with eighteen houses; Gathsewarohare, with twenty-five houses, mostly new; Little Bard's Town, the great Seneca castle, with one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly large and

elegant, and also some six or seven along the shores of Cayuga Lake.

These statistics are necessary to a full appreciation of the devastation carried out in the Indian country by Sullivan's expedition. But the destruction of these towns, all of which were reduced to ashes, was only a part of the damage inflicted. At each town were cornfields with ripening crops, at most were orchards whose trees were loaded with fruit; the corn was destroyed, the fruit trees cut down, the stores of food burned, the cattle, hogs, and other stock driven off or killed. In all, forty Indian towns were burned; fully one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, including that in the fields and granaries, were destroyed, besides the fruit trees cut down, and the vegetable gardens ruined. The punishment inflicted by Sullivan was indeed terrible; and Stone, the historian, adds "the Indians were hunted like wild beasts, till neither house nor fruit-trees, nor field of corn, nor inhabitant, remained in the whole country." The fierce and devastating cyclone, as it swept westward, turned aside as it reached the Oneida and Tuscarora towns, leaving them untouched. A single village of the Mohawks, that of the Praying Mohawks, was spared.

When Sullivan departed, the Indians returned to gaze upon the blackened ruins of their desolated homes. Mary Jemison, the captive, says there was not enough left to feed a child. Homeless now in their own land, most of the Indians retired to Niagara, where the English built huts around the fort for them to pass the winter in; however, hundreds sickened and died before the season was over. Brant, with his broken forces, returned, in connection with Johnson, and for a time kept up a petty warfare, but was ultimately driven out by Colonel Marimus Willet. It was in this campaign that the younger Butler [Walter] received at the hands of an Oneida Indian the due reward of his savage career: his scalp adorned an Indian's belt.

When the war closed with the surrender of Cornwallis, this border country was a scene of desolation. "The sites

of former villages, Indian as well as white-man villages, had become forlorn and blackened scenes." The "Long House" was broken, never to be rebuilt. The figure was remembered and the symbol retained; however, it was only a memento of that which had been but had vanished.

It remains for us only to follow the scattered fragments of the confederacy whose name once carried terror over a large portion of eastern North America; the history of their long contest with the French who settled on the St. Lawrence will be told in another chapter.

As early as 1749, Abbé Picquet established a small settlement of Christianized Iroquois at Ogdensburg, which rapidly increased, so that in 1754 it numbered three thousand six hundred persons. This settlement was afterward removed to Kahnawaga and St. Regis, where this branch still resides. In 1783, a band of Mohawks formed a settlement on Bay of Quinte; but the greater number of the whole people removed to Grand River, where the Canadian government granted them an extensive tract of land. Of those who did not remove to Canada, some Onondagas emigrated to the West, while others remained in their old home, a few taking up their residence with the Senecas.

Most of the Senecas remaining in the state were granted reserves; the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were established in or near their ancient seats. The Cayugas were scattered, and finally a remnant removed to Indian Territory.

The total number of Iroquois living in 1890 was as follows: in the United States, 7,378; in Canada, 8,483; making in all 15,861—a larger population than that contained in the league during any period of its ascendancy.

The three great chiefs of the Iroquois confederacy whose history belongs to the south of the St. Lawrence, and to later times, were Brant, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter. The first was undoubtedly the greatest of the three in every respect except oratory. The second—Red Jacket—was great in nothing except oratory, being a coward and an inveterate boaster. Cornplanter could boast of no great deed, but

was brave in action yet always on the side of peace in the councils.

The Munsees originally lived about the headwaters of Delaware River. They were divided into some six or seven chieftaincies, were brave and warlike, sometimes in conflict with the Dutch, and then with the Senecas. Increasing white settlements forced them from their lands, some going to the Mohawks in 1756. The larger portion moved first to Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, and not long afterward to Alleghany River; from there they drifted westward with the Delawares to Indiana, where most of them were incorporated with the latter; others joined the Chippewas and Shawnees, and they became extinct as a tribe.

Although the colonial government of New York recognized the possessory right of the Indians to the land, and, under both Dutch and English rule, held to the policy that this right should be purchased before taking possession, yet the method of carrying out this policy was not always uniform or wise. The great error in the early history of the colony was the custom of granting permits to individuals to make purchases of the Indians, a method which, wherever followed, has always resulted in contests in the field or in the courts, or in appeals to the legislatures for relief.

The end of this ill-advised and unfortunate course was at last at hand. Orders, proclamations, and instructions had been promulgated by the English government for the purpose of remedying this, but a practical method of solution was not reached until 1765. It was then proposed that a well-defined dividing line between the whites and Indians should be marked out, and that the whites should be absolutely prohibited from settling beyond it under any pretence. This agreement was perfected at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1765.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND

ABOUT the year 1620, and probably for some time previous to that date, the section of country now known as New England was inhabited by numerous bands of Indians belonging chiefly to the great Algonquian family. Of the twenty or more different tribes in southern New England, three seem to have gained preëminence at this period. These were: first, the Pokanoket confederacy, of which Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, was the head, his sway extending over the tribes living between Narragansett and Massachusetts Bays. The second was the Narragansett tribe, inhabiting the region west of Narragansett Bay south of the Nipmuck country, including the present state of Rhode Island and part of Connecticut. Two chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomah, seem to have held a sort of joint sway over these Indians, though the sachemship was in the former. The third of these dominant groups was the Pequod tribe, which, it seems, had, shortly before the arrival of the Pilgrims, swept down from some inland section to the border of the sea and spread terror among the neighboring tribes. The sway of the Pequod sachem extended to all the Indians of Connecticut west of the Thames, and for a time over most of those of Long Island. Sassacus, the greatest and last sachem of the Pequods, could, it is said, at the summit of his greatness boast of a following of no less than twenty-six chiefs.

To the north of Massasoit's domain dwelt the Massachusetts Indians; west of this tribe and northwest of the Pokanokets, scattered over a large extent of country, were several small bands generally known as the Nipenet, Nipmuck, or Inland Indians.

More than a hundred years of occasional and intermittent intercourse between the two continents had, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, given the red man of the New World a better understanding of the character of his white brother of the Old. Explorers, adventurers, fishermen, and colonists seeking homes, had come and gone before his eyes, and some of his own race had crossed the sea to the land of the sunrise and returned. One of these returned wanderers, Tisquantum, or Squanto, figures somewhat prominently as an interpreter in the early history of the Plymouth colony. He is said to have been one of the savages captured by Hunt in 1614 and sold into slavery in Spain. Managing to escape from his owners, he met a London merchant, who protected him and returned him to America upon Captain Dermer's vessel in 1619. Once more on his native shore, Squanto sought for his own people, only to find the tribe almost extinct. A short time before his return a terrible pestilence had very nearly depopulated the country about Massachusetts Bay. Finding himself thus bereft of his own kindred, he appears to have joined the followers of Massasoit.

The kidnapping operations of the early adventurers Hunt and Weymouth were undoubtedly well known to most of the coast tribes, and, consequently, subsequent visitors to New England were looked upon with hatred and suspicion by the Indians of the ravished districts. It was probably from this cause that for several days after the arrival of the Puritans not an Indian was seen by them. On two occasions several natives were espied, who appeared greatly frightened at the sight of white men and immediately disappeared in the forest. On the 28th of December, about five o'clock in the morning, a band of Nauset Indians

surprised a company of the English at Namasket, where they had landed and encamped for the night. For a time a sharp contest was waged between the two parties, but the Indians, finding their leader injured, finally withdrew. Three months passed by without any further contact between the two races; and though we know from the records how the colonists employed their time, we can only judge from subsequent events what course was pursued by the sachem within whose domains the English finally settled. The smoke of the Indians' camp fires, five or six miles distant from the settlement, indicated the close proximity of the savages, and perhaps a sharp surveillance of the white men's movements, which were doubtless promptly reported to Massasoit. From his subsequent action we judge the Wampanoag chief to have been favorably impressed toward the white strangers; and as the attitude now assumed by his enemies, the Narragansetts, had grown menacing, Massasoit was looking about him for a potent ally to aid him in resisting these enemies; and seeing the settlers had shown no evil intentions, and knowing from their sturdy defence at Namasket that they were not afraid to fight and were, besides, possessed of powerful weapons, their friendship appeared desirable to him. This disposition on the part of this chief became manifest when, a few days thereafter, he visited the English and remained for several days with the new colony, and before his departure entered into a treaty of alliance with them, both offensive and defensive.

It was stipulated in this treaty that neither Massasoit nor any of his people should do any hurt to any of the English settlers; if any member of his tribe violated this agreement, such offender was to be sent to the English that they might punish him. That if anything belonging to the settlers was taken by his people, he would cause it to be restored; and, on the other hand, the settlers should cause to be restored anything taken by any of their members from the Indians. The English also agreed to aid Massasoit should any other Indians war against him unjustly, and he agreed to aid the

English should any war against them. Massasoit further agreed to send word to his neighboring confederates, notifying them of this treaty, that they might not molest the settlers, but should likewise agree to these conditions of peace. It was also stipulated that when any of the Indians visited the colony they should leave their weapons behind them; and that the tribe should accept King James as their sovereign.

Such was, in substance, the first treaty entered into by the Pilgrim Fathers with the natives of the new world in which they had planted their colony; a treaty on which, in all probability, their existence as a colony for a time depended. Had Massasoit been hostile and marshalled all his forces against them, it is doubtful whether the attack could have been successfully resisted. However, the treaty was apparently satisfactory to both parties, and does not appear to have been broken by either during the sachem's lifetime. As to the land upon which they had planted, the English were informed by Massasoit that it was unoccupied, the inhabitants being dead, and therefore they were privileged to take possession of it.

Canonicus, chief of the Narragansett Indians, jealous of the alliance of his ancient enemies with the white intruders, had been seeking to draw away some of Massasoit's people from their fealty. He found a willing listener in Corbitant, of Mettaposit [Gardiner's Neck]. This Indian was a clever politician, ambitious, and strongly opposed to the white invasion. Boldly denouncing Massasoit as a traitor to his people, he sought to depose him, and gathered about himself a following sufficiently strong to defy his chief and cause the latter to seek safety in flight.

Evidently the very situation dreaded by Massasoit now presented itself and gave the harassed sachem an opportunity to test the fidelity of his new allies. Fortunately for him, their interest lay in the same direction as his own; and suddenly descending upon the village where Corbitant was said to be fomenting rebellion, the English quickly put an

end to the treasonable ambition of the treacherous sachem, who soon found it good policy to become reconciled to Massasoit, and, through his intercession, with the Plymouth colony. He, with eight other sachems, on the 13th of the following September, signed a treaty of submission to King James; and Canonicus, who was desirous, openly at least, of reconciliation, sent a messenger to treat for peace.

That Canonicus was not sincere in these overtures was soon made manifest. Learning from some source of the arrival of another vessel bearing more of the unwelcome English, and obtaining in some way information that they brought no firearms with them, he thought it a fitting opportunity for another attempt to rid the country of the white men. However, being a "fair-minded foe," as the old chronicler asserts,—but it was more likely done to test their courage or cause them to display their strength,—he sent them warning in the shape of a bunch of arrows bound with a serpent's skin. Squanto, who had joined the English as interpreter and guide, explained the message for the Plymouth governor, and the latter returned the skin filled with balls and powder. The promptness of the reply quieted, for a time, this chief's warlike intentions, and the skin was finally returned to the colony unopened.

In the spring of 1625, a widespread conspiracy arose among the natives against the white settlers. The immediate cause of the disaffection was the arrival, at a place on Massachusetts Bay called Wessagusset, of sixty or more idle and dissolute adventurers from the Old World. They were unlike the Plymouth allies of Massasoit, and their unjust and lawless actions toward the Indians exasperated the latter beyond endurance.

At the head of this plot was Obtakiest, a Massachusetts chief whose dwelling place is not definitely known, but which was probably somewhere in the neighborhood of Weymouth. Though evidently not the instigator of the plot, he seems to have been coerced into taking an active

part therein by his people, five of his principal warriors being eager to carry it into effect.

The conspiracy was an extensive one, including the people of Agawam [Ipswich], Paomet [Truro], Succonet [Falmouth], the sachems of Mattechiest [Yarmouth], Manomet [Sandwich], and Nauset [eastern Cape Cod], and even the Indians of Capawack Island [Martha's Vineyard]. The conspirators' plan was first to wipe out entirely the settlement at Wessagusset, and then, in order to prevent a bloody revenge being taken, to massacre the Plymouth colonists.

Massasoit was repeatedly urged to join the conspiracy, as many of his petty sachems had already done; but holding faithfully to his treaty with the English, he steadily refused. In fact, so opposed to the scheme was he that he revealed the conspiracy to the whites in his gratitude for services rendered him by them. Being forewarned, the English were consequently forearmed, and, briefly stated, the result of the conspiracy was disaster to the conspirators. Pecksuot, the ringleader, and several other Indians were set upon by Captain Standish and some of his men in a house at Wessagusset [Weymouth], and in the encounter all the savages were killed except one, a mere youth, who was taken alive and hanged later. After this success the whites sent a message to Obtakiest, telling him to take warning from the overthrow of his warriors and to refrain from any further treachery.

Obtakiest returned an answer, by a squaw, saying that he would gladly make peace with the colonists; but that he had no men to send to treat about the matter, as all had forsaken him, and that he daily moved from place to place in dread of further vengeance by the whites. The sachems of Mattechiest, Manomet, and Nauset also forsook their homes for fear of the English, and lived in the swamps and like unhealthy localities until they died of starvation or disease engendered by their manner of living.

In 1632, a short conflict took place between the Narragansett and Wampanoag tribes, an attack being made by

Canonicus, sachem of the former tribe, upon Massasoit, who fled for refuge to an Englishman's house at Mount Hope and sent for assistance to his white allies. Captain Standish, the leader of the Plymouth military company, quickly brought his men to Massasoit's aid. The trouble was soon ended, with little bloodshed, the Narragansetts withdrawing in fear of the English; moreover, news had reached them that the Pequods were invading their country. To commemorate this victory over his enemies, Massasoit changed his name to Owsamequin—a custom quite common among the natives.

Returning from his encounter with Massasoit and his allies to his own domain, Canonicus found himself engaged in a fierce struggle with the Pequods over the disputed land, then known as Misquamicut, which lay between Pawcatuck River and Wecapaug Brook, Rhode Island. However, in reality this territory belonged neither to the Narragansetts nor to the Pequods, but to a remnant of the Nihantics.

The original territory of the last-named tribe extended from Wecapaug Brook westward to Connecticut River, and northward from the coast about twenty-five miles. When the Pequods descended upon and conquered the Indians of Connecticut, the greater part of the Nihantic territory was seized by the invaders and the original inhabitants nearly all destroyed. The western remnant, which was restricted to a small area upon the coast of Rhode Island Sound, between Nihantic and Connecticut Rivers, became thenceforth subject to the Pequods; while the eastern Nihantics, occupying the disputed tract already described, allied themselves with the Narragansetts.

The renown of the Pequod warriors being great among the Indians, Canonicus called to his aid not only the Rhode Island Nihantics, who, of course, were interested in the outcome, but a number of the Massachusetts chiefs and probably some of the Nipmuck sachems. The struggle was maintained with varying success until the year 1635, when the contest was ended in favor of the Pequods, their

territory being extended ten miles eastward. This victory opened an impassable breach between the two tribes, and in the subsequent "Pequod War" told very heavily against Sassacus and his people. After the conclusion of that war, the land so long in dispute eventually passed back into the hands of the Narragansetts, when the Pequod captives were allotted to the various tribes. The so-called "Pequod War," so disastrous in its results to the formerly all-powerful Pequods, was the first serious conflict between the Indians and whites of New England.

Before narrating the struggle, some account of the beginnings of Connecticut history is necessary to an understanding of the situation. The section claimed by the Pequods as their dwelling place reached from Wecapaug Brook, eastward, to Nihantic River on the west, including the ten-mile stretch taken from the Nihantics, and from the coast on the south to the country of the Nipmucks in the north; the southern Nipmucks, those occupying the territory of Tolland and Windham Counties, being subject to the Pequod sachem.

The Pequods and the Mohegans of Connecticut were probably offshoots from the Mohegans of New York State, who had left their home somewhere on the upper Hudson and descended upon the less warlike tribes of the Connecticut River valley.

Connecticut had been discovered in 1614 by three Dutch navigators, probably not many years after the Pequod invasion; and soon after this discovery trade relations were established between the Dutch and the Indians, which gradually grew to such importance that the former were desirous of securing its benefits to themselves exclusively. In 1633, Governor Van Twiller, of New Netherlands, sent agents to the Indians along Connecticut River to purchase a tract of land and establish a trading post there. Not recognizing any claims of the original possessors of the river territory, application was made to the usurper Wopigwooit, the father of Sassacus, and a large tract

of land was purchased from him, upon a portion of which the city of Hartford now stands.

In the fall of the same year, an Englishman named Holmes sailed up Connecticut River and settled upon the site of the present city of Windsor. The title to the land which he bought there was not obtained from Wopigwooit, however, but from the former owners, whom Holmes brought back in his vessel that they might take possession of it and sell it to him. This proceeding was the cause of one of the many complaints which the Pequods held against the English. The purpose of the Dutch in purchasing land of Wopigwooit was to secure, if possible, a peaceful trading place, free to the Indians of any and all tribes alike, where no warrior was to interfere with another—a plan that for a time succeeded very well. But finally, some of the Pequods, coming one day to the post to trade, met there other Indians who were their enemies, and, forgetting or despising all promises or conditions, fell upon these Indians and killed them. Highly indignant at this proof of the Pequods' bad faith, the Dutch managed in some way to kill Wopigwooit and several of his men. The consequences following this act of the Dutch were a breaking-off of trade relations between the whites and Indians, a year or more of hostile attacks upon each other, and most probably the murder of Captains Norton and Stone, two English traders, and their men, who not long after the murder of the Pequod sachem ascended Connecticut River for the purpose of trafficking with the natives.

Besides carrying on hostilities with Canonicus over the contested ten-mile territory, Sassacus, the son and successor of Wopigwooit, was now at enmity with his Dutch customers, and his people could not trade in safety anywhere. He therefore, in October, 1634, sent a messenger to the governor of the Massachusetts colony to treat for the friendship of the settlers there. As an inducement to bestow their favor upon his tribe, he made them an offer which he could not keep and which he, as after events

proved, did not intend to fulfil; or, perhaps, to give him the full benefit of the doubt, he did not by any means comprehend the importance to his own nation of the offer he had made. This offer was nothing less than an agreement to surrender to the Massachusetts colony all the Pequods' rights to the land the latter had conquered, provided the colonists would settle a plantation among them. This agreement was the fatal step that led to the ruin of the Pequods by the English, in which the latter were assisted by a near relative of the Pequot chief. This person was Uncas, a Mohegan sachem related to Sassacus, not only by blood but by marriage, his wife being the daughter of the latter. Ambitious and unscrupulous, he was ready to further his own interests and advancement at the cost of friends or enemies alike.

Notwithstanding the close relationship existing between himself and Sassacus, Uncas rebelled against him, even entering into open warfare with him at one period. Being defeated in the contest, he fled to the Narragansetts, but, at length begging forgiveness, was permitted by Sassacus to return to his home on promise of future loyalty. His promise was soon broken, and three or four times thereafter he rebelled, was exiled for his treachery, then pardoned, only to play false and be again banished. Not daring, at last, to again seek reconciliation with his offended kinsman, Uncas retired further into the interior of the country, where he succeeded in fomenting dissatisfaction among some of the Mohegan clans dwelling there. This dissatisfaction resulted finally in a dismemberment of the Pequot territory; and at the opening of the Pequot war he hastened to ally himself with the enemies of Sassacus, and assisted in the overthrow of his relative and former chief.

Acts of hostility on the part of the Indians and retaliation by the whites succeeded in fanning into a flame the sullen and smoldering jealousy of the Indians, who began to look with dark forebodings upon the ever-increasing tide of white immigration into Connecticut, both from the older colonies

and from Europe. Having, perhaps, some faint premonition of the red man's ultimate fate should the increase continue, the Pequods determined to make a strenuous endeavor to expel the colonists from America forever. Shrewd enough to see that, if anything was accomplished against the whites, the combined resources of all the native tribes would be required, envoys were sent by them to the Narragansetts to offer the latter a treaty of alliance. This, however, was prevented through the persuasions of Roger Williams.

The Governor of Massachusetts, acting probably upon the suggestion of Mr. Williams, sent for Miantonomah, with whom he entered into a treaty on the following terms:

Neither party was to make peace with the Pequods without the consent of the other, nor to harbor them. Murderers were to be delivered over to be put to death, and fugitive servants returned. The Narragansetts were to furnish guides, and the English were to notify them whenever the latter marched against the Pequods. The Indians were not to visit the English settlements during the war without being accompanied by some Englishman or known Indian. Free trade also was to be established between the nations. As a confirmation of his friendly intentions, Miantonomah promised to send a present to the colony within two months' time. In the early part of the next year the present, consisting of forty fathoms of wampum and a Pequod's head, was delivered at Boston.

The stand taken by the Narragansetts and Wampanoags, who remained faithful to the treaty made by them with the Plymouth colonists, had its effect upon the more distant tribes, and left the Pequods without support in the proposed contest.

After Captain Endicott's return from his expedition to Block Island, where he had been sent to quell a disturbance, the Pequods commenced a series of depredations and cruelties upon the smaller settlements and outlying farms. Near the mouth of Connecticut River a fort, called Saybrook, had

been built by some Englishmen as a defence against both Dutch and Indians. Well fortified and commanding the river, it seemed especially obnoxious to the savages, and was so closely watched by them as to make it dangerous for anyone to venture outside. On several occasions, members of the garrison who had so ventured were suddenly set upon and destroyed with horrible tortures. Emboldened by these successes, the Pequods surrounded the fort, burned the hay and outhouses, and killed the cattle. Holding the garrison in a state of siege, they taunted and mocked them, challenging them to come out and fight.

The reports of these outrages growing every day more alarming, the English throughout the three colonies agreed to unite their forces to suppress this common enemy. Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies sent two hundred men, and Connecticut one hundred and ninety; besides these, two hundred Narragansetts and sixty Mohegans were permitted to join the English armies. The joint invasion took place about the middle of May. Uncas, with his sixty or seventy Mohegans, casting in his lot with the Connecticut troops, embarked with them at Hartford and sailed down to the mouth of the Connecticut, near Saybrook. Arriving at this point, the Mohegans, at their own request, were put on shore to proceed by land to the fort. On their way thither they met twenty or thirty Pequods, with whom they had a sharp encounter in which seven Pequods were killed.

Captain Mason, who commanded the Connecticut troops, fearing that a surprise of Sassacus's stronghold would be impossible from the river, as the Pequods kept guard over this approach night and day, decided to march through the Narragansett country and fall upon them from the rear.

What is now the site of Groton was then the place of residence of the Pequot chief. Here, upon a commanding eminence, he had erected his principal fortress; near Mystic River he had another stronghold, built, like the first, upon a prominent rise. An attack was first contemplated upon

both forts, but finally it was decided to make a combined assault upon the Mystic River fortress.

Miantonomah quite readily granted the English permission to pass through his land, but seemed very sceptical in regard to their courage proving equal to their boasts, and asserted that they would never dare invade the Pequod territory. Seeing, however, that the English persisted in their determination to attack this stronghold, many Narragansetts and Nihantics joined them.

The surprise was complete; but the Pequods did not lose their courage, and endeavored to make up by valor what they had lost in watchfulness. The besieged savages greatly outnumbered their assailants, and, battling for life, the fight for a time raged fiercely.

Finally, the English, fearing the outcome, which at times looked doubtful, set fire to the village. The inhabitants, forced by the fire from their hiding places into the open, were either instantly despatched without mercy or driven back into the flames, and, in the blindness of terror, men, women, and children perished in their burning dwellings. In one hour nearly four hundred Indians were killed, about fourteen only surviving, part of whom were captured, the rest escaping.

As morning dawned, the English drew off with their wounded. Their Indian allies, who had not ventured into the fort to fight their dreaded enemies, now stood trembling, aghast at the awful destruction brought upon these enemies by the whites.

Before the little army had gone very far from the scene of ruin they had wrought, they saw three hundred Indians approaching from the other Pequod fort. As these warriors came in sight of the burned fortress and beheld all its horrors, they were frantic with rage and grief. They stamped their feet, tore out their hair, and howled in the agony of despair; but their next thought was vengeance, and they came down upon the victors like a whirlwind. Their furious onslaught was soon checked by the bullets from the

Englishmen's guns, and, thus repulsed, the Indians took refuge behind trees and rocks, but did not cease to torment and harass the whites until they reached the shelter of their vessels at Pequod Harbor.

The power of the Pequods was broken; and a council was held by those remaining, to determine upon some course of action. Sassacus favored continued resistance, but the majority decided to leave the country. The torch was therefore set to their remaining fortress and wigwams, and, breaking up into small bands, they fled into the forests. Laboriously and almost in a state of starvation, depending only upon the clams they could dig for food, some of the miserable fugitives moved westward, but, finding themselves encumbered with their women and children, returned to their country and hid among the swamps. The fate of this nation was now decided upon, and that fate was to be extermination. English, Narragansetts, and Mohegans all agreed to this decision and joined in its accomplishment. A great number of the fugitives sought refuge in a large swamp near Fairfield, but this last hiding place was betrayed by one of their own tribe to the English, who, with their Indian allies, surrounded the swamp. A number of Indians from the vicinity had, in fear of the English, also fled to the swamp; but, seeing the danger from flying bullets and arrows, and never having been guilty themselves of injuring the English, they sent a deputation to the besiegers begging that their lives might be spared. The English were willing to grant the petition, and agreed to spare the lives of all who were innocent of English blood, and who would surrender. Not only the sachem and people that made the petition, but many companies of Pequod women and children and old men took advantage of this offer and surrendered, the warriors only remaining to fight to the bitter end.

All night the besiegers kept watch about the swamp, and all night the besieged sought for an unguarded moment in which to break through the barrier and make their escape. Toward morning a dense fog wrapped the scene in obscurity,

and the Indians, believing their opportunity had arrived, made a bold rush upon one part of the line, but were repulsed; and in the ensuing struggle all but sixty of the two hundred or more warriors were either killed or taken prisoners, the sixty managing to escape.

Sassacus, with twenty or thirty of his warriors and a large quantity of wampum, had, without waiting to take part in the battle, fled to the Mohawk country. Even here the Pequods found no safety; for, before the close of the year, the scalps of Sassacus, his brother, and five other Pequod chiefs, were sent to the Governor of Massachusetts by the Mohawks, whose cupidity had perhaps been awakened by the value of the treasure carried off by Sassacus, thus causing them to fall upon and despatch the refugees.

Two thousand Pequods are said to have perished in the several engagements of the war, and one thousand were taken captive. Of this nation, once so powerful, only hopeless slaves and a few scattered bands of wretched fugitives remained. Many of the prisoners taken during the war were kept by the English as bondservants, a small number being shipped to the West Indies to be sold into slavery there. Their glory departed, their proud spirit broken, the fugitives became an easy prey to their enemies, and the Narragansetts and Mohegans continually sent the heads and hands of their conquered foes to the English. Hunted, harassed, despairing, of the two hundred or more not yet destroyed, some took refuge with their former tributaries, some fled to Long Island, and some to Hudson River. Many threw themselves upon the mercy of their enemies, the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, and the eastern Niantics; a number even went to the English at Hartford and implored to be received as servants, that their lives might thus be saved.

It was a custom among the Indians to adopt into a tribe prisoners of war captured by them; and prisoners so adopted, especially if of a kindred tongue and blood, very easily adapted themselves to the new order of things. Uncas, before the war, had been at the head of a small band of other

exiles, and being of the same blood eagerly and secretly received the fugitives and incorporated them into the body of his followers, until his clan had grown with remarkable rapidity to formidable proportions.

According to the terms of the treaty between the Narragansetts and the English, the former could not receive the refugees, and the few who sought succor among them were handed over to the English as agreed upon. Discovering that Uncas was craftily accomplishing what they had honestly refrained from doing, the Narragansetts reported his proceedings to the whites. He managed, however, to satisfy the authorities and stop further proceedings.

The Pequods guiltless of shedding English blood were divided among the Narragansetts, Nihantics, and Mohegans, eighty being allotted the first, twenty the second, and one hundred to Uncas, for which captives annual tribute was to be paid to the English, and the land formerly belonging to the conquered tribe surrendered to English control. Uncas, however, put in a counterclaim to this territory, and part of it was subsequently allotted to him.

Notwithstanding the division of the Pequods among the various tribes and the appropriation of their land by the whites, numbers of them, more especially those subject to Ninigret, gradually gravitated back to their former country, and settled near the Nihantic territory, but upon land claimed by the English. A force of the whites, accompanied by a band of Mohegans under Uncas, surprised the poor, homesick stragglers of this Pequod village; but as most of the fighting was left by the whites to Uncas's band, very little blood was shed, seven Pequods being captured, the others getting safely away.

A brother of Miantonomah came forward at this juncture to beg for the prisoners' lives, upon the plea that the captives were his brother's men. This petition the English had no objection to granting, but instead of sending the captives to the Narragansett chief they turned them over to Uncas.

De Forest describes the Narragansetts as being "more civilized, more ingenious, and more disposed than any of their neighbors to undergo the fatigues of manual labor. Their wigwams were more than ordinarily comfortable, their canoes and utensils neatly constructed, and in all the ruder arts of life they had made greater advances than any of the surrounding tribes." Bitterly hostile toward their enemies and those whom they believed had wronged them,—an attitude which in the savage moral code appears perfectly just and proper,—they were equally consistent in living up to their promises of friendship and alliance, so long as they believed themselves justly dealt with; but once betrayed, their confidence was with difficulty regained.

The English, with the exception of Roger Williams and a few others who took up a residence in the territory of Canonicus, seem always to have been less favorably inclined toward the Narragansetts than toward the Mohegans and the Wampanoags, though their prejudice in this respect appears to have been somewhat unfair. The cause of this may have been the reception and succor given by Canonicus to Williams and his companions in exile, when they had been thrust out by the Massachusetts colony.

Canonicus was at first very much opposed to the idea of a permanent white settlement in New England, but, as time passed, he seems to have recognized the dawn of a new order of things and bowed to the inevitable. When the exiles told him their story, he had compassion on them and granted them "all that neck of land lying between the mouth of Pawtucket and Moshasuck River, that they might sit down upon it and enjoy it forever," and this grant was recognized and established by Canonicus and Miantonomah in March, 1637, by a "Confirmatory Deed."

The settlement of Providence by Roger Williams, even though it may have been the cause of the older colonies' prejudice against this tribe, nevertheless opened the door to negotiations between these colonies and the Narragansetts.

The kindness of Canonicus was greatly appreciated by Williams, and the latter often spoke warmly of the sachem's generosity to himself. He has also borne testimony to the harmony which existed between the older chief and his nephew Miantonomah, as follows: "Their agreement in the government is remarkable. The old sachem will not be offended at what the young sachem doth; and the young sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle."

Miantonomah appears to have been endowed with many of the same characteristics that made Canonicus distinguished among the natives, but the nephew possessed more of the fire of youth and was, perhaps, a little more disposed than was his uncle to gain his ends by intrigue.

The Narragansetts had been faithful to their agreement to deliver up Pequod prisoners to the English; Uncas had not been so scrupulous in this respect, yet the latter prospered in the sunshine of the white man's favor, while the former were looked upon askance. Was it a matter, then, for indignant surprise upon the colonists' part that Miantonomah preferred to be his own avenger and punish Uncas, rather than leave the question of the justice of his cause to the biassed Englishmen?

A part of the lands of the Pequods having been surrendered by the Connecticut colony to Uncas, and his territory having been further increased by his marriage with the daughter of the sachem of the Hammonassetts, which brought him into possession of a goodly stretch of land along Connecticut River, his importance was greatly increased. However, this sudden rise in the fortunes of Uncas brought a corresponding gloom and depression upon the spirits of his rivals, Miantonomah, Ninigret, and Sequasson. The last-named chief, sachem of some of the Connecticut River tribes whose territory had been taken from them by the Pequods, had hoped after the overthrow of the latter that he would recover his former power and prestige. The result was a conspiracy on the part of Miantonomah and

Sequasson to destroy Uncas; it does not appear, however, that they were joined in this plot by Ninigret; it is probable he followed his usual policy of remaining neutral, as he had done in the Pequod war and subsequently did in King Philip's war.

The Pequods and Mohegans, well knowing the hatred with which the Narragansetts regarded them and their sachem, strove to bring Miantonomah into still greater disfavor with the English by declaring that it was his ambition to become head chief of all the New England Indians. They accused him, moreover, of being guilty of exactly the same treachery that had resulted in the downfall of Sassacus; that is, of stirring up the Indians to rise unanimously against the English, and of sending presents of wampum to the Mohawks to entreat their favor and aid. Though the governor and his council gave no credit to these suspicions, yet Miantonomah was summoned to appear at Boston to refute them. This he agreed to do, provided Roger Williams might accompany him; but the Massachusetts authorities would not permit this, nor would they, when Miantonomah, submitting, made his appearance there unaccompanied by his friend, allow him any interpreter save a Pequod Indian. Knowing at what a disadvantage he would be placed in using this man as a mouthpiece by which to lodge complaints against Pequods and Mohegans, Miantonomah refused to enter into a parley with the governor and returned to his home.

Two years after this visit, he was again called to Boston to answer to similar charges coming, as before, from Connecticut. He seems to have cleared himself of these accusations and, at the same time, urged that his detractors might be punished. "We spent the better part of two days in treating with him," says Governor Winthrop, "and in conclusion he did accommodate himself to us to our satisfaction, only some difficulty we had to bring him to desert the Nihantics, if we had just cause of war with them. They were, he said, as his own flesh, being allied by continual

marriages, etc." He at last agreed not to interfere in behalf of the Nihantics, if they did the colonists wrong and would not give satisfaction for the offence.

The accusations which had been lodged against him, emanating, as Miantonomah must naturally have concluded, from the Mohegans, only increased his hatred for their chief. Not long after his return home, an attempt was made upon the life of Uncas by some person unknown; but suspicion soon fell upon a Pequod, a subject of Uncas, who was discovered to be in possession of an unusually large amount of wampum, for which he could not satisfactorily account. Seeing that he was suspected, the Pequod fled to the Narragansett country, thus in the mind of the Mohegan chief clearly implicating Miantonomah as the instigator of the deed. Upon complaint of Uncas, Miantonomah was once more compelled to go to Boston and take the accused party with him. The story told by the Pequod was not believed; the authorities declared themselves convinced of his guilt, and decided that he should be handed over to Uncas. Against this Miantonomah protested, but at last agreed to surrender the man to the Mohegans, provided he were allowed first to take him back to the Narragansett country. This was granted; but the Pequod was never delivered, as the followers of Miantonomah put him to death on the way home.

Shortly after this, trouble arose between Uncas and Sequasson, Miantonomah's relative and ally; Miantonomah decided to make open war upon Uncas, and notified Governor Haynes of Connecticut and the authorities of Massachusetts of the Mohegans' treatment of Sequasson, at the same time inquiring whether they would be offended with him if he carried out his warlike intentions against Uncas. Both the Massachusetts and Connecticut authorities allowed him to take his own course and apparently washed their hands of the matter, awaiting to see who would be the victor in the contest before espousing the cause of either side. In the conflict which ensued, Uncas proved himself

a better strategist than the Narragansett sachem, and the Mohegans were victorious. Miantonomah was captured, but Uncas, not knowing exactly what disposition to make of his prisoner, took him to Hartford to consult with the authorities there as to the captive's fate. The governor and council would not take the responsibility of deciding so important a matter, as they said there was no open war between themselves and the Narragansetts, and they learned, besides, that the English of Rhode Island were very much excited over the capture. After a meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies, Miantonomah's death was secretly agreed upon, and he was delivered into the hands of his hated and triumphant rival to be disposed of. Carried back to the Mohegan country, he was executed by Uncas upon the spot where he had been taken prisoner; and the protection of the English was promised his executioner, should the Narragansetts attempt retaliation for the murder. This deed occurred in 1643; and Miantonomah was buried on the spot where he had been executed, to which the settlers gave the name it still bears, that of "Sachem's Plain."

The Narragansetts, as the English had anticipated, did not tamely submit to what was in their eyes a great outrage, but continually harassed the Mohegans and managed at last to stir up the Nihantics to assist them. So hotly did they press upon their enemies that Uncas was at last compelled to take refuge in one of his forts, where for a while he lived in a state of siege, but was eventually relieved by the English. The heads of the contending parties were called to Boston, where, through English influence, a truce was patched up between them; but the wrath of the Narragansetts burned too hotly to allow them to be restrained, and the attacks upon the Mohegans continued until the Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Massachusetts colonies combined their forces and sent an expedition against them. Remembering the fate of the Pequod nation, the Narragansett Indians were terror-stricken at these warlike preparations;

and eventually they, and the Nihantics, sued for peace and together signed a formal peace treaty in 1645. The terms of the treaty were very hard upon the Indians; and two years later disputes again arose between the whites and this unhappy tribe over the wampum tribute demanded by the English, which Ninigret and Pessacus, brother and successor to Miantonomah, had failed to pay. Canonicus, the venerable chief sachem of the Narragansetts, does not seem to have played an active part in these troublesome events, though there is no doubt that he felt very deeply the unjust murder of his nephew, whom he survived eleven years.

The sceptre of the Narragansetts was broken after King Philip's defeat, hereafter mentioned. Canonchet, the son of Miantonomah, was the last sachem of the Narragansett tribe proper; and after he was captured in 1676 the remnant of the tribe consolidated with the Nihantics, under the sway of Ninigret. Miantonomah, as he had informed the Governor of Massachusetts, was allied by many ties of marriage to the family of Ninigret; but Mr. William F. Tucker, in his *Historical Sketch of Charlestown*, says: "The Ninigret [Nihantic] tribe never were the real Narragansetts, whose name they bear. It is a libel on their glory and on their name to have assumed it. Not one drop of the blood of Canonicus, Miantonimo, or Canonchet ever coursed in the veins of a sachem who could sit neuter in his wigwam and hear the guns and see the conflagration ascending from the fortress that was exterminating their nation forever."

By thus remaining neutral in the momentous struggle between the colonies and the Indians under Philip, Ninigret secured to himself and his heirs the tribal land near Charlestown. Aptly described by Dr. Mather as an "old crafty sachem," he seems to have preserved both his pride, of which he possessed an inordinate amount, and his property as well, without being obliged to fight for either. However, in 1659, notwithstanding his pacific tendencies, he had been drawn into conflict with the Montauks of the eastern part of Long Island.

After the coalition of the Nihantics and Narragansetts, the new tribe thus formed continued under the name Narragansett; but the subsequent sachems were descended from Ninigret, the last recognized chief of the race being George Ninigret, who was accidentally killed in his twenty-first or twenty-second year. After his death the tribe was ruled by a governor and council, who were elected. Much of the land belonging to the tribe had been sold to the whites during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and many of the Narragansetts had migrated to New York, joining the Indians there. At the present day not a pure-blood Narragansett exists; and if any of the tribe remain, the Indian blood has been so mingled with that of the negro that all trace of the original Narragansett has vanished. As late as 1879 or 1880, there were about thirty families of half-breeds living on their reservation at Charlestown.

Neither Narragansetts nor Nihantics appeared to be impressed with the white man's religion. One missionary, who requested from Ninigret the privilege of preaching to his people, was advised by the proud old chief to "go and make the English good first." The following description of the Narragansett burying ground, quoted from Rev. Frederick Denison's *Westerly and its Witnesses*, forms a fitting close to the history of this people:

Of the old pride and power of the Indian kings and warriors, only their mouldering sepulchers now remain. The royal burying-ground of most ancient date is located in Charlestown, about a mile north of Cross's Mills, on a piece of pleasant table land, near fifteen feet above the surrounding high ground. The spot is one hundred and twenty-five yards in circumference, and commands a beautiful view of the adjacent country and the sea. The natives evidently, in this case, had a choice ideal in reference to a place of burial. Royal graves were privileged above others. On this inviting plateau, in a mound one hundred feet long, thirty feet wide, and three feet high, and in the spaces around it, are the remains of the kings, queens, members of the Royal family, and chiefs of the Narragansett nation.

Having followed the fortunes of the Narragansetts to the end, let us return to trace the history of the various

Connecticut tribes, with the exception of the Pequods and Mohegans. The destruction of the Pequods as a tribe so appalled the savages, that for forty years after the event not one of the other tribes dared to engage in a serious contest with the English. And not only did this mean for the settlers a cessation of daily and hourly dread of massacre and destruction, but a sure establishment of the Connecticut colony and an opportunity to widen its borders. This, be it said to the credit of the colonists, they in most instances accomplished by honest purchase, sometimes paying thrice over for their lands rather than cause dissatisfaction among the native possessors. Thus extending their territory, the Englishmen came to know something of the tribes west of Connecticut River: the Tunxis along the banks of Farmington River, the "River Indians,"—the Wangunk, Podunk, Poquonnoc, and Sicaogg clans or tribes,—and those known as the Mackmoodus Indians. Along the coast dwelt the Hammonasset, Quinnipiac, Wepawaug, and two or three other small tribes or bands. The history of one of these tribes is very nearly the history of all. The English were invited to dwell among them, that the savages might enjoy their protection, thinking, in their ignorance of European civilization, that the home-building white and the hunting red man could each live his own life in his own manner upon the same land. The result, with few exceptions, was the usual one,—the extinction of the tribes. Although the majority of the Connecticut Indians remained neutral during Philip's war, some of the smaller bodies were broken up at that time and the remnants joined other tribes, especially the Tunxis, who seem to have been for a time a "city of refuge" for the broken bands. In 1761, a considerable number of Tunxis Indians joined the Stockbridges, of Massachusetts; a few still lived as late as 1804, but the tribe is now extinct.

At different times, reservations were set apart for the various clans near their ancient dwelling places, but their numbers grew less and their land gradually passed into the

possession of the English. The Wepawaugs, one of the most populous and important tribes of western Connecticut, who frequently had encounters with the Mohawks, sold much of their territory to the settlers for ten blankets, six coats, one kettle, and a number of hatchets, knives, hoes, and looking glasses, and the aid of the English against their foes. In 1659 and 1680, reservations were set apart for them—one on the site of the present city of Bridgeport, the other at Huntington. Part of the tribe joined the Six Nations, and another part migrated to Scatacook.

The remnants of older tribes collected at Scatacook, at New Milford, at Salisbury, and at Sharon, forming themselves into new ones. Many of the New Milford Indians became Christianized under the teachings of Moravian missionaries; and when the Moravians left Connecticut for Pennsylvania some went with them, while others connected themselves with the Scatacooks.

The Sharon Indians gradually disposed of their land, and afterward were greatly dissatisfied and distressed to find themselves homeless wanderers. After many complaints to the authorities, and seeing but little hope of redress, all migrated from Sharon before the Revolution, possibly joining the Stockbridge tribe, as many of the Salisbury Indians had done.

A large number of the Scatacooks were also converted by the Moravians; but because of persecutions from those who saw their trade in intoxicants decreasing through this Christianizing influence, the missionaries and their converts moved to Pennsylvania and settled at Bethlehem, whence, as the climate disagreed with the Indians, they returned to their Connecticut home, where they gradually fell into intemperate habits and rapidly declined in numbers. It is probable that the tribe is entirely extinct. Such is the sad history of the Indians who once had their homes in Connecticut.

CHAPTER IX

THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND—(Continued)

RETURNING now to Uncas, the remainder of his history and of the history of his people will be briefly given. As the power and influence of this chief increased, his avariciousness and tyranny also grew, and consequently he not only alienated from himself the allegiance of his subject Pequods, but by depredations committed by marauding bands of Mohegans upon his Nipmuck subjects drew upon himself the enmity of their tribe. By successfully abducting and delivering into the hands of the English an outlawed chieftain who had sought refuge with the Pocomtooks, Uncas brought upon himself the wrath of this tribe also, and a large number of warriors met at Pocomtook to make plans for attacking him. The Narragansetts and Nihantics, it was rumored, subsidized the Pocomtooks to attack Uncas, and it was believed they intended taking an active part in the struggle themselves. Messengers with presents had been despatched to the Mohawks to beg their assistance, and an army of two or three thousand of the allies was said to be ready to move against the Mohegans. The Connecticut colony was greatly alarmed at the news of this warlike demonstration, and sent envoys to Pocomtook to frighten the hostile Indians from their purpose by announcing their intention of defending Uncas. As the aid expected from the Mohawks failed them, the Pocomtooks abandoned their project; and the Narragansetts and Nihantics did not dare,

upon their own responsibility, to defy the whites and attack the Mohegans by themselves. This was in August, 1648; and nine years later, in 1657, the Mohegans were again threatened by the Pocomtooks, the Norwootucks,—another Massachusetts tribe,—and the Narragansetts and Nihantics; but, as usual, they were defended by the English and their enemies put to rout. Uncas, because of his domineering and treacherous disposition, was at swords' point with nearly all the Connecticut tribes, and because of his tyranny many of his Pequod subjects had forsaken him in 1648 and would not return even when ordered to do so by the New Haven commissioners.

In 1661, he robbed and murdered some of the Quabaug Indians of eastern Massachusetts, who were subjects of Massasoit, and was called to account by the people of Massachusetts; but as he paid no attention to their complaints, the matter was turned over to the New England commissioners. Having grown proficient in the art of making excuses, Uncas managed to satisfy the commissioners; but Wamsutta, or Alexander, the son of Massasoit, was greatly displeased over the matter and, according to some accounts, made warlike demonstrations against him.

With all his devotion to the English, Uncas would have none of their religion. William Hubbard, in his *Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England from 1607 to 1677*, speaking of him, says: "It is suspected by them that knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English or their religion, than the rest of his countrymen, and that it hath been his own advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him as formerly against the Pequods, so of late against the Narragansetts." However, it is recorded that he did once toward the close of his earthly career confess his belief in the truth of the Christian religion, but it is not known whether he continued so to believe until the day of his death, which occurred in 1682 or 1683. He was succeeded by his son, Oweneco; and his descendants governed the tribe until the

year 1769, when Ben Uncas died, the last of the Mohegan sachems.

In spite of his deceitfulness, Uncas is to be remembered with gratitude for remaining true to the English in the bloody war of 1675-1677. Though it is probable that numbers of the Pequods and Mohegans took part in that memorable struggle, yet the main body of the tribes remained faithful to the colonists.

The Mohegan Indians were perhaps the most favored by the white people of any of the New England tribes; yet, notwithstanding this favor, their numbers have grown steadily less, and there are probably but few of their nation living to-day. Uncas sold much of the land under his control to the Connecticut settlers, and in 1659 the original settlers of Norwich bought from him a tract nine miles square for the township of Norwich. One of these settlers was a man named John Mason, an especial friend and adviser, says De Forest, of the Mohegans; and in the same year, Uncas and Wewaqua, in the presence of witnesses, deeded all the rest of their lands, without exception, to Mason, to his heirs and to his assigns forever. On account of this action of Uncas, a lawsuit of seventy years' duration was carried on between the Mohegans and the Connecticut colony—the Indians contending that the land was only placed under Mason's protection, while the colony insisted that Mason was only their commissioned agent, and that the purpose in obtaining the deed was to annul any remaining title the Mohegans might have held to the land. Mason himself seems to have been vacillating in his own construction of his responsibility, and tried to serve both sides, giving to the colony in 1660 a deed of surrender to most of the land, and then in 1671, near the close of his life, signing another deed, which made over to the Mohegans a large tract of land which was to be theirs, and upon which an entailment was placed that would prevent their disposing of it by gift or purchase. Here the Mohegans resided until about the year 1680; but, not considering the rest of their

territory to have lawfully passed out of their hands, Uncas's successor continued to make numerous sales of land outside of the limits of the "Sequestered Lands," as that tract reserved to them by Mason was designated. So much controversy was occasioned over these sales that, although a decision was rendered in 1721 in favor of the colony, it was thought necessary to pass a new act, as the former act of the Assembly forbidding private purchase of land from the natives had been repeatedly broken. The new act was passed in 1722, and imposed a fine of fifty pounds upon anyone who should thereafter make such purchase, or should sell lands which were already so acquired.

About the year 1726 there sprang up two rival claimants to the Mohegan sachemship, both being descendants of Uncas. This contest gave an additional element of confusion to the already complicated litigation over the land titles. In June, 1738, a decision was made by the court convened at Norwich, which was favorable to the colony; but the Mohegans were left in possession of a fertile tract containing about four thousand acres, and the rights of one of the rival claimants to the sachemship recognized. An appeal from this decision was made to the Crown, and after a long controversy the case was finally decided in England in favor of the colony about the year 1766.

In 1799, the land still held by the Mohegans was apportioned off by the Legislature to individual families, who were probably few even at that time, as nine years later there were only eighty-four persons in the Mohegan community. Some of the tribe became Christianized and followed Samson Occum, a famous native missionary, who removed to New York, and joined either the Brotherton or the Stockbridge clan in 1768. Uncas lies buried in the "royal burying ground" of the Mohegans, near Norwich, Connecticut; and the ladies of Norwich raised a fund by which, on July 4, 1842, a monument was erected to his memory.

We must now return to the Pequods and learn the ultimate fate of that broken and unfortunate tribe. The

Paucatuc band, after several removals, were in 1683 established at Stonington, Connecticut, upon a reservation of two hundred and eighty acres; and those at Ledyard were at this period upon their reservation of two thousand acres. The same old story must again be told, of the white man's encroachment upon the tribal lands, the natives' gradual descent into intemperance, licentiousness, poverty, and degradation, the decline of numbers, the mixture of white or negro blood with the pure stock, until there is probably not one pure-blood Pequod alive. In 1829, or about that time, a few members of the tribe joined the Stockbridges; about twenty-eight were living at Ledyard in 1848, and probably fifteen or sixteen at Stonington.

Thus, as is seen, the fate of those tribes remaining true to the English and, as will appear, of those joining Philip's rebellious forces was much the same in the end. King Philip's disastrous war, lasting for two years or longer, was the crisis of the struggle between the white and red races of New England. The bold and courageous leader of the insurrection, whose Indian name was Pometacom, was the second son of Massasoit. His father, the one Indian sachem whose friendship seemed to be the most unselfish of the New England chiefs, had died about the year 1661; and in losing Massasoit, the people of Plymouth lost their best safeguard against the enmity of the jealous and suspicious savages by whom they were surrounded. For nearly half a century following the meeting of Massasoit with the Plymouth colonists and the signing of the treaty of alliance made between them, the English had greatly increased, and were continually purchasing land from Massasoit or his eldest son, Alexander—or Wamsutta; but for the majority of these purchases, the settlers, up to the time of Massasoit's death, held no written deeds or conveyances of land. Of the few made which are extant, there is one under date of 1649 for ancient Bridgewater, signed by Owsamequin [Massasoit] himself; one for old Dartmouth, November 29, 1652, signed by Wamsutta only; another

of March 9, 1653, bearing the signatures of both father and son; and on September 21, 1657, a written ratification of the sale of Hogg Island was given by Massasoit to the purchasers of that property. Wamsutta, it appears, had sold Hogg Island without first having obtained his father's permission, and was as ready to sell the lands of his wife, Wetamoo, without her consent as he was those under his father's control.

Alexander had been invested with the chieftainship upon the death of his father in 1661, but died within that year or the next, either in a "fit of violent passion," as one writer states, or, as Wetamoo and many of the Indians believed, of poison administered by the whites; but for this suspicion there seems to be no just ground. However, the royal Wetamoo was deeply incensed at the treatment of her husband and burned to avenge his death, and, in consequence, took an active part in the stirring scenes that occurred not many years after. She was a "royal princess," as the old narrators term the title, in her own right, being the squaw-sachem of Pocasset, and is said to have been able to lead into the field against her enemies nearly three hundred warriors.

Upon Philip's accession to the sachemship, he seems to have been as indiscreet as his predecessors in parting with his territorial possessions, and, in consequence, the red man's ranging ground became more and more contracted. In the period that elapsed between his accession and the opening of the war of 1675, the years had not been idle ones for the sachem of the Wampanoags. As early as 1670, the Indians were making secret preparations for the struggle, but Philip shrewdly attempted to keep up the pretence of friendship with the colonists. The English settlers were not wholly ignorant of his movements, and took alarm at this indication of a dangerous conspiracy among the Indians. Philip was therefore peremptorily commanded to come to Taunton to explain his conduct and, at the same time, answer for the murder of an Englishman by one of his

subjects. The murderer was a Nipmuck Indian, and, as most of the Nipmuck tribe seem to have been subject at this time to the sachem of the Wampanoags, or under his influence, he was applied to for redress.

Philip seemed reluctant to comply with the command issued to him, but, finding at length that he could not longer put the English off with excuses, attended with a band of armed warriors, painted and decorated as if for a warlike expedition. He came on the 10th of April, 1671, to a place within four miles of Taunton. From this place he sent a message to the English governor, informing him of his arrival and requesting him to come there to treat with him. The governor would not lower his dignity by complying with the summons of a native sachem, so he sent Roger Williams and some others with friendly messages, urging the Indian chieftain's attendance at Taunton. Leaving the greater part of his warriors at some distance from Taunton, keeping there also the messengers as hostages, Philip, with a few of his painted braves, proudly advanced toward the village. Commissioners from the Massachusetts colony had arrived at Taunton to consult with the Governor of Plymouth and King Philip, and the "meeting house" was agreed upon as the place of conference. Agreeable to a demand of the haughty sachem, one-half of the building was reserved for him and his followers, the other for the English. Philip attempted to account for his warlike preparations by saying they were in anticipation of an attack by the Narragansetts, though, as was proved at the time, the Wampanoags and Narragansetts were on more friendly terms than they had ever been before. During the conference, when requested to enter into a treaty, the sachem haughtily declined, saying to them: "Your governor is but a subject of King Charles of England; I shall not treat with a subject; I shall treat of peace only with the king, my brother; when he comes, I am ready." Having had many of his excuses proved false to his face, he at length became so confused that he forsook his proud bearing and confessed

the plot, made many fair promises, agreed to do all in his power to bring the guilty Nipmuck to justice, and, with four of his followers, signed a treaty of submission to King Charles, in which, to remove all suspicion, they promised to deliver up their firearms.

It is very evident that Philip had no intention of keeping the treaty, even when he signed it; the surrendering of their arms was carried out so far as Philip and his immediate followers were concerned, but the arms of those not at the conference were not delivered up so promptly. In spite of his fair promises, he was seeking to entice the sachems of other tribes throughout the whole of New England to join his contemplated enterprise. Comprehending more clearly than most of the Indians the power of the English, and the perilous nature of the undertaking he was about to enter into, he yet saw it was the only alternative left to his race, unless they were willing to be gradually effaced or driven from their ancient territory.

Though true to his alliance with and friendship for the English, the father of Philip had been greatly opposed to the introduction of the Christian religion among his people, and would not accept the new creed himself; and in this respect his famous son resembled him, being bitterly hostile to any change in the religion, manners, or customs of his race. Mr. Gookin, author of the *Historical Collections of the Indians*, papers written previous to 1675, at one time was hopeful of his conversion, and says, in speaking of the Wampanoags: "There are some that have hopes of their greatest and chiefest sachem, named Philip. Some of his chief men, as I hear, stand well inclined to hear the Gospel, and himself is a person of good understanding and knowledge in the best things." However, these sanguine anticipations were never realized so far as Philip was concerned; but some of the New England Indians, especially those of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, received the Gospel and were afterward known as "Praying Indians." As the good influence exerted among these Indians had some effect

in the stirring scenes of 1675, a short sketch of the missionary efforts made in their behalf and the results thereof will be necessary before continuing the account of the war.

The General Court of Massachusetts had in 1644 passed an act, which was somewhat vague in its instructions, empowering the courts of the various counties to take measures for the advancement of religion and civilization among the Indians. A year or two before the passage of this act of the Court, Thomas Mayhew had begun his labors as a missionary among the Indians of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. This, however, was a private enterprise, as was also the work of Rev. John Eliot, begun among the Indians of Massachusetts colony in 1646; the latter was an earnest, religious man, and, wishing to have as little hindrance as possible in his way, not only learned the language of the Indians, but translated the Bible into their tongue as well. A number of religious communities of Indians were gathered at various native villages, which were known as "praying towns." The aggregate number of Indians in these religious communities Drake estimates at about eleven hundred and fifty, but adds that: "There is not, however, the least probability that even one-fourth of these were ever sincere believers in Christianity."

Among Mr. Eliot's converts were three or four who were very strongly attached to the English; and these, suspecting the intentions of Philip, went to the colonists and gave them warning of the threatened outbreak. One of these converts was an Indian named Sassamon, who had been taught to read and write, and had for a short time acted as a sort of secretary or interpreter for Philip. When he informed the Plymouth governor of the hostile intentions of the Indians, he also enjoined secrecy upon them as to the name of their informant, declaring that if he was known to be the betrayer the Indians would kill him. The secret was evidently not well kept, as in the spring of 1675 Sassamon was found to have been drowned under such very suspicious circumstances that it was evident he had been

murdered. Several Indians were suspected; and at last three were taken, tried, and convicted, and were executed in June, 1675. This occurrence only hastened matters and brought on the conflict sooner than Philip desired, as his preparations were not entirely completed.

Having nothing less to expect from the English should he fall into their hands than a similar condemnation and execution, as reconciliation was now out of the question, Philip began the bloody game of war in earnest. In June, almost immediately after the murderers of Sassamon had been executed, the people of Swansey—the English settlement nearest to Mount Hope, which was Philip's residence—were alarmed by the threatening attitude of the Indians near them. Their houses were plundered, their cattle destroyed or driven off by the Indians, on Sunday, the 20th, but no white person's life, it appears, was taken on that day by the savages, though an Indian is said to have been shot by an exasperated Englishman who was provoked to the deed by the depredations of the red men. This seems to have been the very outcome foreseen and desired by the Indians in their raid upon the settlement, as there was a superstitious belief among them that the side losing the first life would be successful. The war being thus opened, four days later the village was again attacked and many of the inhabitants murdered. Troops were immediately raised in Boston and Plymouth, and hurried to Swansey as soon as the news of the massacre was received.

The savages, exultant and flushed with their success at Swansey, were waiting in ambush everywhere for any who unwarily ventured abroad, and as the troops advanced they fired upon them from under cover. They then fled, hotly pursued by the soldiers, and took refuge in a swamp. One hundred and twenty men marched to Mount Hope to take Philip; but, too shrewd to be surprised as the Pequods were, he had sent the women and children to take refuge with distant tribes, while he and his warriors kept within reach of cover in the forests. Thus missing Philip, the soldiers

destroyed the Indians' dwellings, trampled down their corn-fields, and left Mount Hope Neck a barren waste.

Rumor next located the wary sachem, after his flight from Mount Hope, at a place called Punkateeset, and a detachment of nineteen men under Captain Benjamin Church was sent to take him. To reach the point where Philip and his warriors were ambushed, the soldiers were obliged to pass through the domains of Awashonks, squaw-sachem of a small tribe called the Sogkonate Indians, who had previously given Captain Church promise of her adherence to the English, and also through the territory of Alexander's widow, Wetamoo, who was squaw-sachem of the Pocasset tribe. The latter "royal squaw," although again married, still held a grudge against the English on account of the death of her first husband, and was only too willing to listen to the persuasion of her warriors and join the cause of Philip. Awashonks also yielded, though reluctantly it is true, to the solicitations of her braves, and turned against the whites. Philip's change of base was therefore very advantageous to him, as with these additions to his forces he was stronger than ever when Captain Church, close upon his trail, arrived at the site of the present town of Tiverton. Here, still following the trail, the soldiers came into an open space in the woods. Suddenly they were startled by the sound of firearms. Finding they were greatly outnumbered, they retreated toward the shore, where they were rescued by the timely arrival of a sloop which had been sent to succor them.

An act of bad faith on the part of the colonists tended toward the estrangement of the friendly natives. Dartmouth Village had been burned by the savages, who, after their work of destruction, fled into the forest. Captain Church marched hastily to the rescue, but did not arrive in time to save the village; however, he took captive about one hundred and fifty Indians who, upon promise of kind treatment by the whites, surrendered themselves. To Captain Church's disgust and indignation, the authorities at

Plymouth, utterly disregarding the promises given, sold these captives into slavery.

In July of this year [1675], Philip and his warriors, having managed so far to elude the soldiers and at the same time harass and terrorize many of the settlements, at length intrenched themselves in a swamp at Pocasset. The forces of the colonies had by this time become so augmented that they decided to surround the swamp entirely and thus, as they confidently expected, capture the evasive chief. When the troops arrived at the edge of the swamp and caught sight of a few Indians whom Philip had, with shrewd cunning, sent to lure his enemies into the marsh, they rushed upon them impetuously and were in this way drawn into the ambush prepared by the Indians. The darkness of approaching night and the denseness of the foliage made all so obscure that friends could hardly be told from foes, and it is probable that some might have fallen pierced by the bullets of their comrades; at all events, about fifteen colonists were slain. Believing that Philip could not escape from the swamp, the soldiers who had so unwisely rushed into danger beat a retreat, leaving but a small force to keep watch on the chieftain's movements. Knowing that the Indians had no stores of provisions with them, the colonists hoped they would soon be starved out, and for thirteen days kept guard about the swamp. Philip in the meantime was busy constructing rafts and canoes by which to escape, and under cover of night he and his warriors passed safely over the water and into the Nipmuck country without being discovered by their enemies.

At the outset of the war, messengers had been sent to the Nipmucks to secure their interest to the colonists. Though the older sachems were willing to promise friendship, the younger ones were not so amicably inclined, and the result of the expedition was by no means satisfactory to the colonists; and now, as Philip was in the doubtful territory, the authorities of Massachusetts made haste to send other envoys to treat with the Nipmuck Indians in order

to counteract his adverse influence. Captain Hutchinson, of Boston, and Captain Wheeler, with an escort of twenty men and three friendly Indians as guides and interpreters, went to a place agreed upon at the head of Wickaboag Pond, about three miles from Brookfield, where they expected to meet with the Nipmuck sachem at eight o'clock A.M. on August 2, 1675, according to an appointment made with them. When the English arrived at the spot designated, they found no Indians there; they thereupon proceeded four or five miles further toward the Nipmucks' chief village; but the way was so difficult, being but a narrow passage between a thick swamp and a steep hill, that they were obliged to travel single file. Here they were suddenly set upon by two or three hundred Indians, who had been in ambush, and eight Englishmen were killed and three fatally wounded, Captain Hutchinson being one of the latter.

Drake says the "three Christian Indians [the guides] . . . rendered most eminent service on this day; for had they not been there, there had been no possibility of one Englishman's escaping. One of them, George Mimecho, fell into the hands of the Indians: the other two, by skill and bravery, led the English, by an unknown route, in safety to Brookfield. Yet these Indians were afterwards so badly treated by the English, that they were forced to fly to Philip for protection." The survivors of the onslaught fled to Brookfield and, with the terror-stricken inhabitants, of whom there were about eighty, succeeded in reaching a garrison house, where they managed to maintain themselves until they were succored by a troop from Boston after being besieged for three days. From the loopholes of the garrison house the Brookfield settlers saw their houses, barns, and outhouses burned and their cattle shot by their enemies, and attempts were made to set fire to the building in which they had taken refuge; but having failed in these attempts, the besiegers finally filled a large wagon with hemp, flax, and the boughs of fir and pine trees; setting

this afire, they ran it against the house, but providentially a heavy shower of rain fell and extinguished the flames, thus saving the inmates of the building from a dreadful fate; shortly afterward, the troop arrived and relieved them. About eighty Indians were killed in this encounter.

War was now raging in earnest, and the settlements along the Connecticut valley were the next point of attack. Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield were next to suffer; and the success of Philip's forces in these attacks, combined with the bold leader's persuasions, so influenced the natives of the valley that many, even of those who were called and believed to be Christian Indians, forsook the white man's cause and eagerly engaged with Philip in his attempt to exterminate all the foreigners in New England.

When the settlers fled from Deerfield they left there a quantity of grain partly threshed, and to prevent this from being either captured or destroyed by the Indians Captain Lathrop and a picked force of eighty or ninety men were sent to guard the carts and secure the grain. As they were returning with the crop, they were surprised and set upon by about eight hundred Indians, and the captain and nearly all the troop were slain, only about eight or ten escaping. Because of this sanguinary event, the small stream near which it occurred has since been known as "Bloody Brook." Springfield and Hatfield were the next points of attack, but the repulse received at the latter village discouraged further depredations there, and the scene of war was transferred for a time to Rhode Island. As might have been expected, the Narragansetts were anything but faithful to a treaty they had been coerced into making with the troops from Boston, and they had, in fact, all along been giving aid and succor to Philip's followers. They had now, with the exception of Ninigret and his immediate followers, in reality become his allies, and with this reinforcement the Indian uprising assumed so formidable an aspect that it was evident the combined power of all the New England colonies would be required to subdue the savage

hosts. Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut colonies sent their forces into the field; and those of the last-named colony were greatly augmented by a large body of Mohegans, who were true to the whites throughout the struggle. As winter was drawing near and Philip could not hope to accomplish much at this season of the year, he established himself in winter quarters upon an island in a great swamp in South Kensington, Rhode Island. The fortress he erected here was superior to the generality of Indian forts, being surrounded by a double row of palisades, and made still more secure by a great abatis, or hedge of fallen trees with their branches pointing outward; outside of these was a deep ditch. Within the fort were erected about five hundred wigwams, and within these were piled, one upon another, baskets and tubs of grain, ensuring the Indians an abundance of provision and at the same time rendering the wigwams bullet proof. Three thousand Indians are said to have been assembled here, but whether Philip himself was within the fortress at the time it was attacked by the English is not positively known.

At one corner of the palisade was the place of entrance, where a gap one log in length had been left, and across the ditch at this point the long slender trunk of a tree had been felled, the breastworks here being only about four or five feet high. This pass was in turn defended by a well-constructed block house. But for the treachery of one of Philip's own men, an Indian named Peter, there is little doubt that the English would have become entangled in the morass, been surrounded, and destroyed. Had such a catastrophe occurred and the victorious Indians been left to carry forward their plans of the war, it is difficult to say what would have been the fate of the New England colonies.

In storming the fort it was necessary for the soldiers to cross, single file, upon the slender log, facing a storm of arrows and leaden hail from the Indians' bows and muskets. The valorous and determined attack of the white men and the heroic defence of the Indians on that eventful day,

December 18, 1675, deserve a place on record beside that of the momentous "last day at Gettysburg." The Massachusetts troops led the attack, but those in the van were swept from the bridge like grain before the sickle; yet their places were instantly filled by others, and another party, which had been seeking for a place of entrance, succeeded in some unexplained manner in wading through the ditch, climbing over the hedge, and scaling the wooden palisades. Bewildered by this sudden attack from another quarter, the savages were for a moment diverted from their defence of the bridge; and the besiegers took advantage of the momentary pause in the firing to rush upon the panic-stricken defenders, and forced at last an entrance through the breast-works. After a fierce hand-to-hand encounter with those warriors who, with the courage of desperation, had turned again to meet this onslaught of their foes, but were at last beaten down, a way was cut through the palisades, and the whites entered the fortress. For three hours the fight raged fiercely inside the palisades, but the English gained slowly, and then tarnished the glory they had won in fair fight by setting fire to the wigwams and thus wantonly causing the death of hundreds of women and children. Many of the warriors escaped to a cedar swamp near by, and there, in the cold, without shelter or provisions, hid themselves while the English finished their work of death and retreated with their dead and wounded. The bloody tragedy of the fall of the Pequod fort had been repeated, but upon a more terrific scale, and seven hundred Indians were killed outright, while many others were fatally injured. The English had eighty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded.

This conflict, so disastrous in its results to the Indians, had taken place in the Narragansetts' territory, and a majority of the victims were of this tribe. So appalled were they by the calamity which had overwhelmed them, that they were upon the verge of abandoning Philip. Unconquerable and resolute still, undaunted by even so great a disaster as had overtaken his forces, with about two thousand warriors yet

faithful to him, he did not by any means count himself defeated. The first and most pressing question that presented itself to him for solution was that of a food supply, as his people, since the loss of their corn in the conflagration of the fort, had nothing to subsist upon but groundnuts, and in consequence suffered acutely. The Nipmucks and Narragansetts who had survived the "Swamp Fight," and who still followed the Wampanoag sachem, were, according to his directions, scattered in small bands throughout the country, carrying terror and destruction along their path. The village of Mendon was laid in ashes by one party, and Lancaster by another party led by King Philip himself on the 10th of February, 1676. Nipmucks, Nashaways, and Narragansetts were engaged in the attack upon Lancaster, and between forty and fifty whites were killed or taken captive. Among the latter was a Mrs. Rowlandson, who has left an account of her captivity. The treatment she received was very harsh, varied occasionally with unaccountable periods of kindness. During part of the period of her captivity she happened to be in the same camp as King Philip, and at that time the treatment she received was uniformly better. She was finally ransomed and returned to her home. With indomitable energy, Philip constructed another fortress in a swamp within the Nipmuck country and gathered here the women and children survivors from the former fort.

During the spring and summer of 1676, the country from Narragansett Bay to Andover, Massachusetts, was the theatre of many bloody tragedies. Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, Marlborough, Medfield, Warwick, and Providence were ravaged and many of the inhabitants slain, and, in the Connecticut valley, Springfield and Northampton suffered. "At Medfield," says J. S. C. Abbot (*History of King Philip*), "the defiant chief left a letter of challenge and warning as follows: 'Know by this paper that the Indians that thou hast provoked to wrath and anger will war this twenty-one years, if you will. There are many Indians yet. We come three hundred at this time. You must consider the

Indians lose nothing but their life. You must lose your fair houses and cattle.' ” This letter was probably written for the sachem by some Christian Indian who had deserted his white friends and gone over to Philip's cause.

Many of the Christian Indians, perhaps the majority of them, were faithful to the English, and, understanding woodland fighting as no white man could, were invaluable as scouts and guides; and had the settlers of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island at the beginning of the troubles adopted the same policy as the rulers of Connecticut and been less unreasonably distrustful of the friendly Indians, not denouncing them as traitors, much bloodshed might have been prevented and Philip, from lack of support, earlier conquered. The Court of Connecticut had, in the fall of 1671, issued an order restraining the settlers from committing any injury upon their Indian allies. With the aid of these allies,—Pequods and Mohegans,—Connecticut succeeded in keeping her territory comparatively protected.

The Narragansett chief Nanuntenoo, or Canonchet, son of the unfortunate Miantonomah, was captured at this time in his camp by four companies of English and three of Indians, respectively Nihantics, Pequods, and Mohegans, the latter company being led by Oneko, the son of Miantonomah's bitter enemy. The capture of Canonchet was made by a Pequod Indian, but all three of the native companies, to glut their vengeance, took part in the execution of the heroic and unflinching chief. The English condemned him to be shot, and left the execution of the sentence to the Indians. The Pequods shot him, the Mohegans cut off his head and dismembered his body, and the Nihantics made the fire and burned his remains. This capture was effected in April, 1676, and not long thereafter the fortunes of Philip began to decline. It was believed at one time that he was in Canada, endeavoring to win over the tribes of that region to his cause; and it was known that he sought to draw the Mohawks into the conflict with the whites, but in this attempt he failed and brought down upon his own

head the retaliation he had intended should fall upon the English. In his desire to alienate this powerful tribe from the whites, he had fallen upon a party of Mohawks and, as he believed, killed them all, leaving tokens that would delude their friends into the belief that the deed had been committed by the English. One of the victims, however, recovered and made known the true state of the case to his friends, who forthwith retaliated upon the guilty parties, killing fifty of Philip's men. This was the beginning of the end, and, reverses of fortune overtaking him one after another, many of his followers began to desert him and surrendered by hundreds to the colonists. His numerous hosts dwindled to a few miserable, hunted bands of desperadoes; and he fled from swamp to swamp, striving to reach once more Mount Hope, his former home. Weta-moo, who had followed faithfully his fortunes in success and defeat, was accidentally drowned at this time in Tehticut River, while trying to escape from the English. Philip also, as a hunted deer, was flying before his dreaded adversary, Captain Church, who was close upon his trail.

With his wife and son, his sister and his male relatives all prisoners in the hands of the English, his followers dwindled to a mere band, and his schemes forever blasted, there was little left to spur him on to further resistance, save the instinct of self-preservation, and an unconquerable pride which would not think of surrender. The end, however, was at hand. His hiding place was revealed by a traitorous follower, and he was slain, August 12, 1676, while hopelessly battling against overwhelming numbers.

About one hundred and thirty Indians were killed or taken prisoners at this time, and not long after seven hundred men were conquered by Captain Church. Among the last to surrender was Anawan, an old warrior who had followed the good Massasoit in happier days and had long outwitted and escaped the intrepid Captain Church. Anawan, with about sixty other warriors, was discovered in a swamp near Rehoboth. Hither Captain Church was led

by an Indian whom he had previously captured. Coming upon the warriors unexpectedly, Church took them captive, and with his men on guard the captain lay down beside the old warrior to spend the night, but, as may be imagined, neither slept. After regarding each other in silence for some time, Anawan rose up and walked away, but returned just as the captain was growing uneasy, and brought with him a broad belt, a headpiece, and a broad neckband, all made of wampum, and presented them to his captor with the following speech: "Great Captain! You have killed king Philip, and conquered his country. I believe I and my company are the last, who war against the English. So, I suppose, the war is ended by your means. These things are, therefore, yours. They are the royalties of king Philip, with which he adorned himself, when he sat in state. I think myself happy in presenting them to Capt. Church, who has so fairly won them." King Philip's war was ended.

Of the few hundred warriors who, hunted and desperate, were yet too proud to yield, some fled northward and eastward through the wilderness; a large number, escaping together through the trackless forest, crossed the Hudson to the Mohawks, with which tribe they were finally merged. Some of Massasoit's lineal descendants, though not of Philip's line, were living in Massachusetts as late as 1878.

After the war with Philip had ended, the English, believing the Indians were now subdued, began to turn their thoughts to their ruined homes and wasted fields, hoping once more to enjoy a reign of peace and prosperity; but these pleasing visions were dispelled by the rumors of a new war raging in the districts of Maine and New Hampshire. As this war introduces to us a new confederacy of tribes, we will give the account of this struggle in connection with the history of that confederacy, which we have designated Abnaki.

While the colonists of New England were contending with the natives for a foothold on American soil, the Indians on their eastern border proved a source of almost

constant annoyance and trouble for many years. These natives, known under the general name Abnakis,—“People of the East or Sunrise,”—were a rude, warlike people, firmly attached to the French and, as a general rule, bitterly hostile to the English settlers. The territory over which they spread at the advent of the whites was extensive, including a large part of New Hampshire, all of Maine, and eastward to St. John’s River, New Brunswick, and indefinitely northward to the vicinity of the St. Lawrence.

The group was a kind of loose confederacy consisting of several tribes whose names frequently appear in various forms in New England history. Of these the more important were as follows: the Penobscots [or Tarrentines], probably the most numerous and influential tribe of the group, occupying the country on both sides of Penobscot Bay and River; the Passamaquoddies, located in the valley of the lower St. Croix River and in the vicinity of Passamaquoddy Bay; the Wawenocks, settled on the seacoast, their country extending from St. George River to the Sheepscot; the Norridgewocks [Canibas or Kennebecs], an important tribe, occupying the valley of the Kennebec from tidewater to its sources; the Assagunticooks [or Androscoggins], a tribe of considerable strength, inhabiting the whole valley of the Androscoggin; the Sokokis [Sacos or Pequakets], a small tribe, seated about the upper Saco River; and the Pennacooks, the most western tribe of the group, whose territory extended from Merrimac northward over a large part of New Hampshire. In addition to these, the confederacy included the Malecites [Etchemins] about St. John’s River, New Brunswick.

The first contact of these Indians with the whites appears to have occurred at an early date in American history, as it is probable that one of the points at which Verrazano stopped during his voyage along the eastern coast, in 1524, was in the country of one of the western tribes of this group. His reception was by no means a friendly one. He describes the people as “so rude and barbarous that we were

unable by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals and other animals." They seem to have been in a state of irritation and of hostility to the whites, from which fact the inference has been drawn that this section had been previously visited by Europeans who had given cause of offence. However, Captain John Smith, who extended his explorations, in 1614, to this part of the coast, furnishes the most reliable early description of the people. He mentions several of their villages, among which, notwithstanding the forms he gives, we can recognize the Penobscot, Sokoki, Kennebec, Norridgewock, and other tribal names. He says the Indians of that region regarded the chief of the Penobscots as the greatest sachem among them.

The reason for their adherence to the French and opposition to the New England settlers is readily understood. The Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries had been in communication with them from 1611 until the English began to occupy this section, and had won them over to the French interest. This attachment was strengthened by frequent visits to Quebec. The alliance, however, brought upon them the enmity of the Iroquois, who, though attacking wandering parties, seldom ventured into their country. Charlevoix says: "The only part of New France where the Iroquois had not dared and never dared to carry their victorious arms, was the country occupied by the Abenaki nations." But this does not appear to be entirely correct, as the Abbé Maurault gives an account in his *Histoire des Abenakis* of one attack made by them, in 1661, on the Norridgewocks of Kennebec valley. The frequent attacks on travelling parties by these marauders had by this time forced the Jesuits to abandon their Abnaki missions.

It was a little more than half a century after the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth before the Abnakis commenced open hostilities against the Maine and New Hampshire settlements. But during this period there was an internal feud

in their group, which had some bearing on their relations with the whites and forms one item in their history. When Acadia, as the whole region was called at an early day, was, after the death of Governor Razille [1647], divided between Charles d'Aulnay and Charles la Tour, the former was given the country of the Penobscots, and the latter the country of the Malecites of St. John's River. It was not long before these French rulers managed to embroil the tribes of one division in a war with those of the other division, which was carried on for several years. And there is little doubt that the English encouraged and to some extent aided the Malecites.

A singular episode in the history of the Indians of this region is the rôle played among them by the Baron de Saint-Castine. Coming among them about 1661, and seeming to be fond of their wild, free life, he married the daughter of a sachem, and, if the tales regarding him be true, added some four or five others to the household. Be this true or false, he managed so to ingratiate himself with the Indians as to gain complete control over them. He fixed his home at the mouth of Penobscot River, built there a fortress, and taught the Indians how to use firearms, which were soon placed in their hands. Emboldened by these aids, and encouraged by the French, when King Philip's war broke out in 1675 they commenced open hostilities against the English, which continued at intervals for seventy years. While Saint-Castine was in control, he was considered the most dangerous enemy with whom the New Englanders had to contend. Divers campaigns were undertaken to capture him; and though his fortress on the Penobscot was taken and plundered, he managed to elude their grasp and fled into the wilderness, and shortly afterward [1708] passed over to France, leaving his half-breed son in control. The father, with his Abnakis, had paralyzed for thirty years the trade and prosperity of the eastern New England settlements; and the son, when he came into control, continued hostilities with the same bitterness

that had been manifested in the raids during the time his father was the directing spirit.

It was thought at the time, from the coincidence of the outbreak of the eastern Indians with the commencement of Philip's war, that it was in accord with a plot for a general uprising of the Indians of New England against the English; but subsequent investigation failed to confirm this opinion. The hostilities which began in 1675 consisted at first of acts of petty depredation and an occasional murder. These, however, were soon followed by raids on a larger and more destructive scale. "When once these Indians," remarks the Rev. William Hubbard, in his *History of the Indian Wars of New England*, "had imbrued their hands in English blood, they were emboldened to the like bloody attempts in other places."

During the year 1676, the country, from Piscataqua River to the Kennebec, was raided by bands of savages, burning houses and slaying the inhabitants wherever they found them unprotected or unprepared to offer resistance. From the beginning of August to the end of November, over fifty English were slain, though the Indians, as they afterward confessed, lost over ninety of their men in the various skirmishes in which they were engaged. Daniel Neal, in his *History of New England*, summarizes these events as follows: "Several little skirmishes past between them in the first three or four months of the war, wherein the English lost 50, and the Indians 90 of their people; but these were but the beginnings of greater desolations, for in the spring of this year the Indians came down out of the woods in vast numbers and broke up all the English plantations to the north of Wells, destroying all the country with fire and sword;"—then follow accounts of the specific acts. He adds further that "these excursions of the enemy alarmed the whole Province and obliged the inhabitants of Sheepscot River, Kennebeck River, Sagadahock and the adjacent parts to desert the open country and retire within the government of the Massachusetts."

Though the Massachusetts colonists were engaged at this time in their great struggle with Philip and his Indians, their government despatched several expeditions against these eastern savages, though with little success. They appealed to the Mohawks to turn their arms against the Abnakis, but, with the exception of a few volunteers who took up the hatchet, the appeal was unheeded. However, the English at length succeeded in capturing a body of four hundred Indians. Neal's brief account is in the following words: "On the 6th of September [the Massachusetts forces] surprised about 400 Indians as they were plundering Major Walderen's house at Quochecho, and took them all prisoners." This statement corresponds with that by Hubbard, yet it is asserted by Samuel G. Drake in his notes to Hubbard's *History* that these Indians were taken during a meeting, under a flag of truce. Seven or eight who had been guilty of murdering whites were executed; about two hundred who were connected with the warring Indians were sold into slavery; the remainder, who were peaceable Pennacooks, were released and allowed to return to their homes. Although Wonnolancet, chief of the Pennacooks, and his tribe were acquitted of complicity in any of the depredations on the English settlements, he felt aggrieved at the treatment he had received, and with a part of his people removed to Canada in 1677.

Notwithstanding this advantage gained by doubtful means, the English "were sick of the war," and eagerly caught at a proposition of peace coming from the Indians. A treaty was thereupon entered into with the agent of the chief of the Penobscots, which was soon thereafter confirmed by the latter, but does not appear to have been agreed to by any of the other tribes. However, after several fruitless attempts at treaties, peace was at length concluded by Andros as governor of Pemaquid in 1678, but on humiliating terms. The Indians, on their part, agreed to restore the prisoners in their hands, and to refrain from further molestation of the white settlements; the English, on their part, strange to say,

submitted to the humiliating agreement to pay annually as a quitrent a peck of corn for each English family.

This treaty brought but a brief respite for the harried colonists. In 1679, the eastern Indians, urged on by French intrigue, commenced hostilities on an increased scale. Settlements and towns were attacked; the inhabitants, where unable to find security by flight, were massacred or taken captive, and their dwellings laid in ashes. These Indians appear to have been chiefly Norridgewocks and Assagunticooks, though from the numbers in their bands, estimated at from six to nine hundred warriors, it is probable that some of them were Penobscots. The governor of the colony, being appealed to for help, despatched four companies to their aid. A band of some seven hundred Indians were, on November 2d, making an attack on Newchewannick, near the mouth of Kennebec River, when Major Bradford with his company came upon the scene. The battle with the Indians was long and severe, and the issue for some time doubtful. But a body of cavalry being sent to the rear caused the Indians to take flight and leave the English masters of the field. The loss in killed and wounded on the side of the whites amounted to ninety, while the loss to the Indians was estimated at treble this number.

This dearly bought victory, instead of curbing hostilities, only intensified the hatred of the savages toward the English settlers. The valley of the Casco was now the chief place of attack, thirty inhabitants of the village of Casco being slain at one onslaught. But the avengers were already on their trail. At the break of day on December 3d of the same year, Major Bradford and Major Wallis, with their forces, came upon the encampment of Indians, some eight hundred strong, on the Kennebec. The Indians "fought with all the fury of savages, and even assailed the English from the tops of lofty trees, which they ascended for the purpose. They were in possession of but few fire-arms, but hurled their tomahawks with inconceivable exactness, and checked the progress of the cavalry with long

spears.”—(Trumbull.) Nevertheless, they were forced to flee to the forest for refuge, but with their band broken and shattered. Two hundred were left dead upon the field, and double that number were mortally wounded. The English loss was forty-five killed and ninety-five wounded. The loss of the Indians in the two engagements, which fell chiefly on the Norridgewocks and Sokokis, amounted to fully one thousand. They were now completely humbled, and expressed a desire to bury the hatchet and to be at peace with the English. As the desire was reciprocal, a treaty of peace was entered into. Thus was ended what has been called King William’s War.

For a time, the settlements of Maine and New Hampshire were allowed to cultivate their fields in peace and quiet; but the spring of 1703 had not opened before the eastern Indians, accompanied by a number of Frenchmen, descended upon the settlements from Wells to Casco, sparing neither age nor sex. The killed and captured English during this raid amounted to one hundred and thirty. The Indians continuing to raid the settlements, the General Assembly passed an act giving forty pounds for each Indian scalp. This brought in a few bloody trophies, but accomplished nothing in the way of checking hostilities.

Warfare continued for ten years, by far the most dangerous and harassing attacks being those of small parties skulking under the edge of the forest, or lying in wait for opportunity to murder unawares. The conclusion of the war between France and England in 1712 caused the Indians to tender propositions for a cessation of hostilities. A meeting was called by Governor Dudley at Portsmouth, and a treaty drawn up and signed, which is very often mentioned in the histories as the end of the war between the eastern Indians and the Colonists. Hostilities did not, however, entirely cease; and in 1725 another treaty was entered into, after which a long peace followed; but in the year following the declaration of war between England and France in 1744, hostilities again began, and continued until 1749, when a

final treaty was entered into at Falmouth on October 15th of that year.

Trumbull closes this period of his *History of the Indian Wars* with the following remark:

From this important period, which being the 15th day of October, 1749, ought the peace and prosperity of the now flourishing states of New England to receive their date. It was at this period that her hardy sons quit the sanguinary field, and exchanged their implements of death for such as were better calculated for the cultivation and tillage of their farms. The forests, with which they were encompassed, no longer abounded with fierce and untutored savages; the Indian death-song and war-whoop were no longer heard; the greater part of the Indians that survived the many bloody engagements had sought peace and retirement far westward; and the prisoners which the English had captured were liberated, on condition of resorting to and remaining with them. They proved faithful to their promise. They took possession of the country bounding on the great lakes, and in possession of which their descendants remain to the present day."

Some of the Abnakis were engaged with the French at the battle of the Monongahela when Braddock was defeated, and continued in their service most of the time until the close of the French and English war. These were the Indians who had removed to Canada. During this time their settlement at St. Francis was destroyed by the English troops under Captain Rogers. Out of the three hundred inhabitants of the place, two hundred were killed, and the village burned. The Abnakis who had removed to Canada were engaged with the French during their war with the English, and joined the latter in their war with the United States.

After the peace of 1749, which was signed by the Penobscots, the latter ceased hostilities, and in 1780 ceded to the Massachusetts government all their lands on the west side of Penobscot River, and all on the east side from tidewater up to Mantawomkeektook River, "reserving to themselves only the island on which the old town stands and those islands on which they now have actual improvement." After the treaty of 1749, the Wawenocks, Norridgewocks,

Assagunticooks, and Sokokis removed to Canada, whither the Pennacooks, as already stated, had previously retired. The Passamaquoddies remained in their ancient habitat; and the greater number of the Malecites remained in their New Brunswick territory.

In 1880, the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies in Maine numbered, together, about 625. The number of the Canada Abnakis, located at St. Francis and Beçancour, at the same date was 369; and the Malecites in Quebec province and New Brunswick, 880.

CHAPTER X

THE INDIANS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE

THE history of the Indians of the St. Lawrence and the lower lakes is but little more than an account of the long series of wars of the Iroquois on one side, and the French and their Indian allies—the Hurons and Algonquins—on the other side. Yet it is a remarkable fact that the Indian history of the banks of the St. Lawrence and the shores of the Great Lakes forms the chief episode of the contest between two great European powers, England and France, for possession of North American territory. But for the Iroquois, it is more than probable that the international boundary line between British possessions and the United States would have been quite different from that agreed upon at the Treaty of Paris, 1783.

At the time of the arrival of the whites in this region, two great Indian stocks occupied the entire country. The numerous tribes of the Algonquian family were spread out from the Atlantic shore to the great plains beyond the Mississippi, and from Hudson's Bay to Pamlico Sound. However, this great Algonquin sea was interrupted by the Iroquoian group gathered about the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. How the tribes were distributed and where located at the time of Jacques Cartier's visit [1534] is not known with certainty, as the data given are not sufficient for positive identification; moreover, when Champlain appeared on the scene in 1608 he found it greatly changed

from the conditions at the time of Cartier's visit. The comparative quiet, which the latter's statements imply, no longer existed; war had broken out between the tribes; Hochelaga and Stadeloné, the chief villages of which Cartier speaks, the former on the site of Montreal, and the latter on the site of Quebec, had been destroyed and their inhabitants forced to seek security elsewhere. It is evident from the few words of the language given by Cartier that Hochelaga and Stadeloné were, at that time, occupied by people of the Iroquoian stock, apparently Hurons. However, the location of the Iroquois tribes at that time is not positively known; but it seems most probable from all the evidence that they were then in their historic seats south of Lake Ontario, where Champlain found them in 1608. At the time of the latter's arrival, the north side of St. Lawrence River, and of Lake Ontario, so far as occupied, was in possession of Algonquins, the Algonquins, from whose name we have the modern form "Algonquin," being located then on Ottawa River.

Other Algonquin tribes of this region, to which reference will be made, were: the Montagnais, located on Saguenay River, and often mentioned as the "Lower Algonquins"; the Micmacs, of Acadia [Nova Scotia]; the Nascapes, in the Labrador peninsula, north of the Montagnais; the Nepissings, on Lake Nepissing, at the head of Ottawa River; and the Ottawas, along Ottawa River and on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron.

The tribes of the Iroquoian family in this region, when first known to Europeans, were those of the Iroquois confederacy located in what is now the state of New York, from Hudson River to the vicinity of Niagara River, as mentioned in Chapter VII. West of this confederate group was the Neuter nation, occupying both banks of Niagara River; and west of them, on the northern side of Lake Erie and extending to Lake Huron, were the Hurons. Of the latter there was a subdivision named the Tionontatis, but known also as the Petun or Tobacco tribe, located

between the Hurons proper and the Neuters. The Eries, often mentioned as the Cat nation, dwelt immediately south of Lake Erie, in what is now northern Ohio.

The early history of the Iroquois is involved in considerable uncertainty, if we give heed to certain traditions which are believed to be based on fact, as most historians have done. According to these, the Iroquois formerly lived north of the St. Lawrence, near Montreal, where they were in subjection to the Algonquins. A tribe of the former, devoted to agriculture, lived among the latter near Trois Rivières, with the agreement to supply these with a certain portion of their crops, the Algonquins in return supplying them with game and protecting them against their enemies. In winter the Iroquois attended the Algonquins to the chase, but only for the purpose of carrying home and skinning the game, curing the flesh, and dressing the skins—duties usually devolving on the women of hunter tribes. Six young Iroquois, who followed as many Algonquins as attendants, disregarded the rule which forbade their engaging in the chase itself; after a prolonged period of failure on the part of their masters, they requested leave to try their own luck on the hunting path. This was contemptuously refused; the Iroquois, nevertheless, disregarded the refusal and disappeared, returning to camp in due time laden with game. Fatigued with the chase, they slept soundly; and the Algonquins, fired partly by jealousy, partly by anger at the breach of order, massacred them in their sleep. Unable to obtain satisfaction for this murder, which was upheld as a lawful execution, the Iroquois nation bound themselves by an oath to exact a bloody revenge.

That the Iroquois at an early day lived north of the St. Lawrence is probably true, and that the tradition, though largely mythical, may have some elements of truth in it is possible; but to accept it in its general tenor we must suppose the Iroquois were then but a feeble folk and that their subsequent increase in numbers and strength was

rapid. To this, however, we may find a parallel in the quick growth in power of the Aztecs when they fixed their home at Tenochtitlan. Nevertheless, the data available are not sufficient to verify or disprove the tradition; but we can safely assume that the destruction of Hochelaga and Stadaconé was due to the raids of the Iroquois who were then located south of the St. Lawrence, and that the tradition given above, if it contained any elements of truth, related only to a small separated band of Iroquois.

It was not until Champlain had pushed his way to the interior, and the attempt was made to plant upon the banks of the St. Lawrence a French colony, that the real history of the Iroquois begins. The history of the colony for the first sixty years of its existence is, in fact, chiefly a history of the Iroquois Indians during that period. When this explorer arrived, he found, as before intimated, the tribes north of the St. Lawrence in a state of uneasiness, with evidences of oppression by other savages of superior power. The arrival of the French was therefore hailed by these tribes with joy, for they hoped by engaging these timely comers in their interest, and by alliance with them, to be enabled to conquer the Iroquois—their enemies and oppressors. There gathered at or near Quebec, where Champlain wintered, a party composed of Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais, intending to march against the Iroquois. These besought the French leader to join them in their expedition. He, desirous of binding to his interest the natives with whom his plans were to bring him into constant contact, without considering the probable effect of his act or ascertaining the strength of the enemy against whom he was asked to lend his aid, rashly agreed to the proposal, little imagining that he was by so doing opening a warfare that would continue for well-nigh a century and prove to be the keenest thorn in the side of his colony. However, on the other hand, it bound to the French interests the Hurons and the numerous Algonquin tribes which inhabited the lake regions to the northwest—the great fur country.

The first expedition [1609] was up Sorrel River and along Lake Champlain, to the point since identified as the modern Ticonderoga. Here, unexpectedly, they met a war party of Iroquois, of some two hundred warriors. As night was approaching, by a singular agreement between the opposing parties, the battle was deferred until the following morning. It is unnecessary to give the details of the engagement. Although Champlain was accompanied by but two Frenchmen, French firearms, carrying unseen death, so marvellous to these natives, soon decided the contest in favor of the allies. When the Iroquois beheld two of their leaders fall at one report of these strange weapons, their courage wavered, and when others in their midst began to drop they fled in dismay. A second expedition was made with the same allies along the same course the following year. A party of one hundred Iroquois was discovered intrenched near the bank of Sorrel River. They were defeated and most of them slain, but not without an obstinate resistance.

The breach was made, and henceforth war was to be the only intercourse between the Iroquois on one side and Champlain and his allies on the other. This intrepid warrior, now seemingly aware of this fact, consented to the proposition of his allies, who, elated by the success in the previous engagements, were desirous of carrying the war into the stronghold of the enemy. Crossing Lake Ontario at its lower extremity, they proceeded southward around Lake Oneida to the border of one of the smaller lakes. The enemy was found intrenched in a strong hexagonal fort,—if Champlain's figure and description are to be trusted,—formed of four rows of palisades. It was before this fortress that the invaders appeared on October 10, 1615. The attack was unsuccessful, and after five days of vain endeavor the besiegers withdrew, bearing the wounded leader in a basket hung on the shoulders of his men. This was his last expedition against the people of the Five Nations. A party of Andastes [Susquehannas] had

been engaged to assist in this attack, but failed to reach the place until after the allies had departed.

Although the Iroquois were bold and brave in warfare, they were adepts in craft and treachery, and owed their triumphs as much to the latter as to open hostility. It was a favorite policy with them to attack their enemies in detail, and while destroying one portion to cajole the rest. After the failure of Champlain and his allies, there was comparative quiet for a time; but the Iroquois, thirsting for revenge, resorted to a stratagem which ultimately resulted in the destruction of the Huron tribe. This was to divide the tribe and then annihilate its members in detail. They began by a formal treaty of peace. Their envoys went to Quebec and began negotiations, which in the spring of 1624 resulted in a large concourse from the Huron, Algonquin, Montagnai, and Iroquois tribes assembling at Three Rivers "to light their council fires and confirm the pact." Then, under various pretexts, they attacked one after another of the Huron towns which were remote from the centre, "persuading the rest," says Charlevoix (*History of New France*), "that these were only private quarrels in which they had no interest." Huron blindness appears to have been too complete to allow them to perceive the crafty design of their enemies until it was too late to offer effectual resistance. It was during this period that the Iroquois conceived, it is said, the idea of exterminating the French before they had time to fortify themselves more strongly, and with this view divided into three parties; but their purpose was thwarted, after they had ravaged one or two localities. In 1636, they threw off the peace mask, and appeared in arms in the midst of the Huron country; but in this instance they also failed of success, as the few French who had followed the missionaries hither offered such bold resistance that the invaders were forced to retire.

It was about this time, or a year or two later, that the Iroquois fell suddenly upon a small tribe or settlement of Indians adjoining the Neuters on the east, committing a

fearful massacre, and compelling all who escaped with life to flee elsewhere for refuge. These were kindly received and cared for by the Hurons. Charlevoix says he was unable to ascertain the name of this people, but we learn from some passages in the *Jesuit Relations* that they were known as the Weanohronons, or Wenrohonons, and that they were then located in the extreme western portion of New York. They were probably related to the Hurons, and seem, as a tribe, to have dropped from history after this raid.

The Iroquois, who chafed under quietude, managed, by blockading the ways of travel, to keep the other Indians in a constant state of alarm. So daring were they—having learned of the weakness of the French colony—that five hundred of them came to Three Rivers, where the governor then was [August, 1637], insulted him and carried off before his eyes, without his being able to prevent it, thirty Huron Indians who were coming down to Quebec with furs for sale. In 1648, a band, chiefly of the Mohawk and Seneca tribes, invaded the Huron country in the absence of its warriors, sacked one of the chief towns, and scattered its people; and in the following spring, fell upon the town of St. Ignace, laying it waste and committing sad havoc among its inhabitants. Among those who were taken at the latter village and suffered death at the hands of the victors were the Catholic priests Fathers Lallemant and Brébeuf.

As one incident of this war against the Hurons, which shows the intense hatred that burned in the breasts of the Iroquois against this people, we quote the following from Charlevoix's *History of New France*:

Three hundred Huron and Algonquin warriors having taken the field, a small body of adventurers in the van came upon a hundred Iroquois, who attacked them, but who, notwithstanding the advantage of numbers, failed to capture more than one man. Satisfied with even this trifling success, and fearing to engage a larger party if they advanced, they were about to retreat, when the prisoner told them that the band to which he and his comrades belonged was much weaker than their party. Deceived by his story, they resolved to await the allies at a point where,

as their captive assured them, they intended to pass, taking no precaution except to throw up a kind of intrenchment to prevent a surprise.

The Hurons and Algonquins soon appeared; and the Iroquois, desperate at being thus duped, wreaked a fearful but not unexpected vengeance on him who had involved them in such a disaster. The majority then counselled flight; but a brave, raising his voice, said: "Brothers, if we resolve to commit such an act of cowardice, at least wait till the sun sinks in the west, that he may not see us." These few words had their effect. They resolved to fight to their last breath, and did so with all the courage that could be inspired by hate, and the fear of dishonor by fleeing from enemies so often vanquished; but they were opposed to men who were not inferior to them in courage and were here three to one.

After a very stubborn fight, seventeen or eighteen Iroquois were left on the field, their intrenchment stormed, and all the survivors disarmed and taken.—(Charlevoix, *History of New France*, vol. ii, 121–122.)

But why should we dwell on the harrowing details? Although the Huron warriors fought bravely and not always without success, yet their want of foresight and craft left them at a disadvantage; and one after another of their fifteen towns fell before the invaders, or were deserted by their inhabitants, who fled further into the interior for safety. During the progress of this war the Andastes [Susquehannas] proffered assistance to the Hurons, but the short-sightedness of this people prevented them from taking advantage of any favorable turn of affairs presented them; the offer was allowed to pass, and the opportunity lost. But not so with the Iroquois, who, laying the offer up in memory, afterward made it cost the Andastes severely.

The reason for the success of the Iroquois is not to be attributed to their greater bravery or to their superior craft; for it was due in a large degree to the use of firearms, with which the Dutch of New York began to supply them shortly before the commencement of the war on the Huron settlements. Some firearms were placed in the hands of the Huron warriors by the French, though few in comparison with those obtained by the Iroquois. The disparity in this respect gave the latter a great advantage, which no exhibition of bravery could overcome.

Before the complete destruction of the Huron tribe as an organization, a considerable body of the scattered refugees joined together and sought an asylum on the island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron. But the evil fate which had hitherto followed them failed not to find their place of refuge; this time, however, not in the form of bloodthirsty savages, but those twin destroyers that make no distinctions—famine and pestilence; the terrible details of which had better remain untold. It is said that many of the wretched beings in the frenzy of despair turned upon the missionaries who had followed them in their flight, exclaiming: "The Iroquois are foes to us and know not God, and do every kind of wrong to their fellow men; but they prosper nevertheless. It is only since we renounced the customs of our fathers that our mortal foes have prevailed against us. What avails it that we give ear to the Gospel, if ruin and death be the shadows that follow its footsteps."—(*Jesuit Relations*, 1643-1644.)

When the final dispersal of the tribe came, some fled in one direction and some in another. Those on St. Joseph Island, joined by others, made their way to Quebec and sought the protection of the French. "The Hurons," says M. Ferland, speaking of this party, "remained in the isle d'Orléans till the year 1659; but continuing to be harassed by the Iroquois army, ever ready to attack and kill them, even in their place of retreat, they decamped and set up tents on an open space within Quebec itself, wherein they dwelt for several years. When peace was concluded with the Iroquois after M. Tracy's expedition, the Hurons left Quebec, and settled four or five miles distant from the city."—(Garneau, *Hist. Can.*, i, 159, 3d Edn.) The other fragments of the nation scattered in various directions, seeking protection among other tribes, some of whom thereby brought upon themselves war with the Iroquois. One band fled to the Susquehannas of Pennsylvania, another to the islands of Green Bay, but only to be pushed further west by their untiring pursuers. Onward they fled until they

reached the Iowas of the plains, but, longing for the forests, turned northward to the region of the Sioux. Provoking, by their restless disposition, that tribe which had given them shelter, they turned south again and found a temporary resting place on an island in the Mississippi, below Lake Pepin. We next hear of them with a party of Ottawa fugitives at La Pointe on Lake Superior, but the feud with the Sioux compelled them to leave this point. In 1671, they were on the north shore of the Straits of Mackinaw, and in 1680 La Salle found them along Detroit River. Others made peace with the Iroquois, and were absorbed into that nation.

"The Huron country," says Mr. Winsor (*Cartier to Frontenac*), "never again knew the traces of this people, and only the modern archæologist, wandering between the latter-day villages of an alien race, finds in the forests the evidences of the former occupants."

The Neuter nation hoped by remaining passive during the bloody drama to escape the consequences of active participation, hence the name bestowed upon them. This hope was vain; the sweep of the maelstrom was too fierce for them to avoid being drawn into the vortex. In a few years they had melted away, as the frost before the rising sun. History was so intent on following the fortunes of the two chief actors that the Neuters had dropped into oblivion except for a few brief notices which Shea has summarized in a note to his edition of Charlevoix (ii, 271).

Before proceeding, let us pause a moment and make a brief summary of results. In the *Jesuit Relation* of 1653, one of the missionaries writes as follows: "The war with the Iroquois has dried up all sources of prosperity. The beaver are allowed to build their dams in peace, none being able or willing to molest them. Crowds of Hurons no longer descend from their country with furs for trading. The Algonquin country is dispeopled; and the nations beyond it are retiring further away still, fearing the musketry of the Iroquois. The keeper of the Company's store here

in Montreal has not bought a single beaver-skin for a year past. At Three Rivers, the small means in hand have been used in fortifying the place, from fear of an inroad upon it. In the Quebec store-house all is emptiness."

Not only had the Huron villages been destroyed and the nation scattered in fleeing fragments to the east, west, and south, but the Indian country all along the waterway from Montreal to Georgian Bay had been depopulated and become a wilderness. Even the passage from the falls above Montreal to Tadoussac had become so unsafe, that the fur trade stations from Three Rivers to Saguenay were virtually abandoned. Nor were the savage conquerors satisfied with this work of devastation; they had pushed their way up the Saguenay amid the dark forests in search of victims, driving onward the upper Montagnais to the shores of Hudson's Bay. "Everywhere north of the St. Lawrence and Ontario, Algonquin and French alike shuddered at the name of the confederates. The missionaries had withdrawn from their outposts, and they told in the settlements of the horrible sufferings which their brothers had undergone at the Iroquois stake."—(Winsor, 175.) Hennepin in 1678 estimated that they had destroyed two million persons; this, however, included the result of their wars and raids in the south and west heretofore noticed.

The effect of this success of the Iroquois upon the business of the French colony was, as has been stated, to bring it to a standstill, but this fails to tell of the personal sufferings of the colonists. The success of these savage marauders inspired them with contempt for the French, as the following incidents, which are mentioned in the histories, show. They attacked the fugitive Hurons under the guns of Montreal; killed the governor of Three Rivers in a sortie he made against them; attacked the laboring colonists in their fields, murdered isolated individuals, and desolated the country with their pillagings. They carried on this system of hostilities with such untiring perseverance, that, as a writer of that time informs us: "Hardly do these

savages let us pass a day without alarms. They are ever at our skirts; no month passes that our bills of mortality do not show, in lines of blood, indications of the deadly nature of their inroads." It was no longer safe for the colonists to go about their affairs without being armed. Often the inhabitants had to intrench themselves in their houses or abandon them. Hand-to-hand fights between small parties of whites and squads of hovering Indians took place almost every day, and occasionally several times in the same day.

In 1653, when the colony was in the depressed condition described as the result of the war waged by the Iroquois, these Indians, from some motive which was not at first understood, sent an embassy to the French to treat for peace. Although the latter had but little faith in the permanency of such agreement, they accepted the proffer and entered into a treaty. It was at this time that the Iroquois had commenced their war upon the Erie and Susquehanna tribes. These Indians, it seems, had begun to act as intermediaries in the trade between the western tribes and the Dutch, thus depriving the Iroquois of the profits of this commerce as middlemen. Moreover, it is probable that the attempt of the Susquehannas to aid Champlain in his last expedition had not been forgotten. Although the French expected but little quiet from this peace agreement, they deemed it wise to use the time it might last in improving their condition; hence, when they understood the real object of the Iroquois, they encouraged them in their warring with the two tribes, hoping that it would at least prolong their own peace.

This respite was of short duration; for the Iroquois, whose thirst for blood could not be restrained, soon renewed their depredations and were even secretly plotting an attack on Quebec. The Onondagas, professing extreme friendship for the French, petitioned M. de Lauson to form an establishment in their country. The offer was unwisely accepted, and in 1656 Captain Dupuis was sent thither,

with fifty followers, as pioneers of the undertaking. But they had hardly begun to form their settlement, when the Onondagas became jealous of them and resolved upon their destruction. The plot was revealed by a dying Indian; and it was chiefly by the shrewd management of a Frenchman, who had been adopted by an Indian, that they succeeded in making their escape. According to the *Jesuit Relation* [1657], the real object of the Onondagas in asking for this settlement, professing at the same time an earnest desire to be Christianized, was to obtain firearms and to get the French workmen to repair those which were out of order, "and this obtained," adds the writer, then to "massacre them all."

Again it became unsafe in the French settlements to labor in the fields unarmed or to travel without an escort; the Huron settlement on the island of Orleans was raided by a band of Mohawks, the governor insulted by Mohawk delegates; and a palisaded post at the foot of Long-Sault was attacked unawares by a party of five or six hundred Iroquois, and the seventeen French and fifty Indian allies slaughtered. These hostilities continued until 1662, when three of the tribes—the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca—entered into another treaty of peace with the French, though the latter put little faith in their promises.

The Mohawk and Oneida Indians, who had not joined in the treaty of peace, continued their hostile operations.

For the purpose of impressing the Iroquois with the power of the growing colony, De Courcelle, in January, 1666, though midwinter, undertook a reconnaissance of the Mohawk country. As the Indians had obtained knowledge of the approach of the French army, their villages were found deserted. The army was therefore forced to return without striking an effective blow. This was followed by another expedition against the Mohawk towns during the same year, under command of Tracy. The commander's hope of surprising the first town they approached was disappointed by the indiscreet haste of some Algonquin allies,

who thereby gave the alarm. Only a small number of old men, women, and children, who were unable to follow the rest in their flight, were found; these were made prisoners. "They found," says the record, "well-built cabins neatly adorned. Some were a hundred and twenty feet long and wide in proportion, all covered with boards within and without."—(Charlevoix, iii, 91.)

The first towns were reduced to ashes. Two others were further off; the first of these was found deserted; it was only as they approached the second that they saw any indications of resistance. But the bold display of the French frightened the savages, who fled, although this town was defended by a triple palisade twenty feet high, with four bastions. All the towns were destroyed, not a single cabin was left standing; the country was devastated. Although the Indians had escaped with their lives, the effect upon them was equal to a defeat in battle; their surprise at the French force was evident from the fact that this tribe, one of the boldest of the confederacy, was unwilling, even when in its chief stronghold, to test the strength of the invaders. As a result, a Mohawk embassy came to Quebec the following year to sue for peace, and a treaty was made which brought quiet to the colony for twenty years.

The discoveries of the French in the west, and their increasing intercourse with the tribes of this distant region, aroused the jealousy of the Iroquois and New Yorkers, lest the fur trade should be diverted to the French. This would lose the trade to the English, and the profits to the Iroquois as middlemen. The latter adopted their usual method of preventing such diversion, and there is little doubt that the former encouraged them.

In 1684, the Iroquois were again in active hostility against the French allies. War parties of the Senecas were moving westward, followed, it is said, by English traders desirous of reaping profit through extended trade relations with the Shawnee and other western tribes. This expedition was directed against the Illinois Indians and against

Fort St. Louis, which the French had established on Illinois River to defend their allies of this region. De Baugis, who was in command of Fort St. Louis, and De Tonty, who was present when the attack was made, succeeded after several days' resistance in repelling the assailants.

The French were now convinced that it was necessary to deal the confederates a heavy and sudden blow if they hoped to retain their prestige. However, La Barre, who was then governor of the colony, was unequal to the occasion, though strongly urged to vigorous action by the colonists. The Iroquois, who seemed to understand the man they had to deal with, when they saw approaching their territory the army of French and their allies, which public sentiment had compelled La Barre to gather, managed by a patched-up peace to induce him to withdraw. And yet the treaty failed to cover the chief point at issue, the Senecas refusing to refrain from destroying the western allies if they found it possible to do so. La Barre appeared to be ignorant of or wholly insensible to the fact that the real contest was with Dongan, Governor of New York, a man of superior ability. The affairs of the colony when La Barre was superseded by Denonville as governor [1685] were in an unsatisfactory condition.

It was not until 1687 that Denonville was in a position to march against the Five Nations. Intending to direct his attack against the Senecas, who were the chief transgressors, and of the five tribes the worst disposed toward the French at this time, he landed at Fort Frontenac as his base of operations.

On July 12th the army began to march inland; ere the day was over, the van, consisting chiefly of Indian allies, was attacked by an ambush of three hundred Senecas, but these were dispersed by the regular troops, who soon came upon the scene. Next day, when they arrived at the Indian town, they found it deserted and in ashes; only the granaries remained standing; these were given to the flames, the standing crops destroyed, the live stock slaughtered,

and the country ravaged for ten days. No opposing force appeared, the whole population having abandoned the country, some taking refuge with the Cayugas, while others fled across the mountains southward, leaving the stragglers, it is said, to die on the way. For some unexplained reason, the governor, instead of following up this success and attacking other cantons, dismissed a part of his army and turned his face homeward.

Although this was a heavy blow to the Indians, the result failed to meet expectations. The French had hardly departed before the fugitives returned to their accustomed haunts, and the confederates, instead of being humbled, renewed hostilities with increased vigor. "Their invasions," says Garneau (i, 288), "now attained a more sanguinary and devastating character than ever before. Their reprisals on the frontier were terrible, and put the whole colony in a state of consternation. With unappeasable rage in their hearts, these barbarians desolated all western Canada with fire and hatchet." In 1688, they retaliated by falling upon the settlement at Lachine, where three or four hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Again, in 1689, twelve hundred strong, they ravaged the vicinity of Montreal up to the very fortifications, carrying off two hundred prisoners. The losses on the side of the French amounted to a total of one thousand; and although Frontenac, in the same year, sent a force of six hundred against them, destroying three villages and taking three hundred prisoners, the Five Nations remained virtually masters of all Canada, from Montreal to Lake Huron. In 1696, Frontenac, in personal command of the French forces, overran the Onondaga and Oneida territory, destroying the villages and crops. This final stroke resulted in a peace which continued until Canada was acquired by the English in 1763.

No history of the Iroquois, though but a brief sketch, would be complete without reference to at least the more important features of their governmental system, and to their customs and characteristics. These, together with their

early acquisition of firearms, furnished the key to their success as a people.

At the time of Champlain's appearance on the scene [1609], the permanent possession or local habitat of the Iroquois tribes extended east and west, as already stated, across what is now the state of New York from Hudson River to the Genesee, and forty years later to the Niagara. This country was spoken of by the natives as the "Long House," or, in their language, "Kanonsionni" or "Hodonsaunee," the door being at the west end. At this end dwelt the Seneca tribe, who were termed in this symbolical representation the doorkeepers; next to them on the east were the Cayuga; and following in the same direction, the Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk tribes. A modification resulted on the admission of the Tuscaroras into the confederacy in 1714; these, occupying a district in the south part of the Oneida territory, became the sixth member. Although the relative positions of the five original tribes were the result of actual settlement preceding the formation of the League heretofore mentioned, the theoretic arrangement was in consequence of it, the one continuous house being a symbol of union. As the Onondaga family or tribe, in the original arrangement, occupied the central position, it was here that the great or general council of the confederacy was held, and where the common fire was kindled. The confederacy was called "Kayanerenkowa," or "great peace." In addition to the objects mentioned—offensive and defensive purposes—the confederation included the idea of closer social union on the basis of intertribal relationship, thereby consolidating them into a more homogeneous body. Morgan (*League of the Iroquois*, 92) seems to accept the boast of the Iroquois that the great object of their confederacy was peace—"to break up the spirit of perpetual warfare, which had wasted the red race from age to age." It is evident from the part of their history already given that this claim must be taken with many grains of allowance.

The political organization was in some respects peculiar. Although the confederacy consisted originally of but five tribal members, the government rested in a general council composed of fifty representatives, who were hereditary chiefs. These, however, were not distributed equally among the tribes or according to population. Nine were allowed from the Mohawk tribe, nine from the Oneida, fourteen from the Onondaga, ten from the Cayuga, and eight from the Seneca, though the last was the most populous member of the confederacy. Notwithstanding this disparity in the number of representatives in the general council, it was held that the several tribes "occupied positions of entire equality in the League, in rights, privileges, and obligations"; for questions were not decided by a majority vote of the representatives in the council, as each nation had an equal voice in the decision.

Chadwick (*Long House*) says there were five classes of chiefs, the head chiefs, warrior chiefs, pinetree chiefs, war chiefs, and honorary chiefs; but this statement taken in full applies to very modern times, as "honorary chiefs" is a mere name imposed with certain formalities, and the head or peace chiefs and war chiefs were the only regular officers of this class. The head chiefs, or sachems,—as Morgan terms them,—composing the general council were the original councillors, and were not chiefs in the true sense of the term, their power to act officially being only in concert with their compeers. Their function was, however, dual. In the general council they acted as representatives of the whole confederacy and not of a particular tribe; but within the limits of their own tribe the same sachems formed the ruling bodies. Thus the nine representatives of the Oneidas to the general council formed, when apart from the others and within their own territory, the council and ruling body of that tribe; in other words, the councils of the different tribes when brought together according to the rules of the League formed the great council. The government was therefore oligarchical in form.

These sachemships were hereditary, the descent being in the female line; and each of the fifty had a special title assigned it, which was assumed by the person installed, and thereafter became his individual name. Hence, from generation to generation the persons holding a particular sachemship had the same name; thus the first sachem of the Onondagas has from time immemorial been known by the name Atotarho, or Tododaho. The functions of these sachems related to civil affairs. However, notwithstanding the statement of authorities to this effect, there appear to have been occasions when the confederate council took upon itself the decision of questions relating to war. As an instance may be cited the question as to taking sides with the English or the Colonists in the Revolution. Finding it impossible to come to an agreement, the council finally decided to suspend the rule requiring unanimity, and leave each tribe to act on its own responsibility. Morgan also admits that the war on the French, "which they waged with such indomitable courage and perseverance for so many years," was resolved upon by the sachems in general council, as was that against the Eries. It is apparent, therefore, that the powers of the general council included that of deciding for or against war, though no individual sachem by virtue of his position assumed command of the military forces; only two exceptions to this rule are recorded subsequent to the first—and possibly mythical—Atotarho.

"Next to the sachems in position," following Morgan, "stood the 'chiefs,' an inferior class of rulers." Chadwick gives them the name "warrior chiefs."

In the later days of the confederacy another class of officers, known as "pinetree chiefs," came into existence. They were sometimes designated "self-made chiefs," though they had a seat in the council. These were men whose abilities or acquirements brought them into prominence and rendered them useful members of the council, where they held the same status as sachems, but the office generally died with the individual. The celebrated Joseph Brant was

only a pinetree chief; in this case, however, the office was made hereditary.

War chiefs, though regular officers, held their positions but temporarily and while acting as leaders in war enterprises.

Of the less important tribes of the eastern section with whom the French had more or less intimate relations, the following may be mentioned:

The Beothuks, constituting, according to Major J. W. Powell (*Seventh Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, 57), a distinct family,—probably first seen by Cabot in 1497 and subsequently met with by Cartier in 1534,—resided on the island of Newfoundland. It is probable that at the time of Cabot's discovery they occupied the whole island; but a century and a quarter later they appear to have abandoned the southern portion on account of continued attacks by the Micmacs and of European settlements, retiring to the northern and eastern sections. About the commencement of the eighteenth century, the southwestern portion of the island was colonized by the Micmacs. In consequence of the warfare waged against them by these Indian and European invaders, the Beothuks rapidly wasted in numbers, and their territory was soon limited to a small area about Exploits River. The tribe was finally lost sight of about 1827, having become extinct; or possibly a few survivors may have crossed to the Labrador coast and joined the Nascapees, with whom they had always been on friendly terms.

At the time the French made their first attempts to plant settlements on the coast region along the south side of Gulf of St. Lawrence, there were three tribes of Indians in possession of the area embraced in the present Nova Scotia—then Acadia—and New Brunswick. These were the Micmacs, called by the early explorers the Souriquois, inhabiting Nova Scotia and a part of the gulf coast of New Brunswick, also the neighboring islands; the Malecites, located along St. John's River; and the Passamaquoddies, extending from St. Croix River to Passamaquoddy Bay.

These three tribes belonged to the Algonquian family and were most closely related to the Abnaki Indians of Maine, and are often classed as a part of that group, especially the last two, as noticed in a previous chapter.

The first contact of the Micmacs with the French was when Cartier visited the coast of Nova Scotia in 1534. However, continued intercourse between the two peoples did not begin until some seventy years later, when in 1604 Sieur de Monts attempted to plant a colony on the coast at Port Royal. The French were kindly received by them, and permitted to settle upon their land without objection; and thus were commenced friendly relations between them, which, notwithstanding the struggles and misfortunes of the colony, were maintained throughout with a few unimportant interruptions. The history of these Indians for the next eighty years, save their contests with other tribes, consists chiefly of the assistance rendered the French in their conflicts with the English of Boston. This firm friendship of these Indians for the French was largely due to the numerous marriages of Frenchmen to Micmac women. The wife of the Baron de Saint-Castine already mentioned, a prominent character in the early history of this region, was a daughter of one of the chiefs.

At the time of their discovery the Micmacs appear to have been at war with the Eskimo, passing in their canoes to the north shore of Gulf of St. Lawrence to attack them. They also made war upon the Beothuks of Newfoundland, driving them from the southern and western sections and planting a colony there. They were brought under the influence of Catholic missionaries at an early day. The office of sachem or chief has never been hereditary among them, this officer having been elected, generally, from among those with large families.

It is said that these Indians and some of the allied tribes had in use, at the time of discovery, a system of hieroglyphic or symbolic writing. This system, it is asserted, had made such a near approach to true writing that the

Indians were accustomed to send to others pieces of bark marked with these signs and receive in return answers written in the same manner. Three books written with these characters, consisting of prayers, masses, and a catechism, two of them done by an Indian, are reported to be in existence; these two Rev. Eugène Vetromile (*The Abnakis and their History*, 1866) says are in his possession.

The Malecites, or Maliseets, were the same as the Etchemins of the early writers. Biard, in his *Relation* (p. 14), estimates the Etchemins at that time [1611?] at one thousand persons, and the Micmacs at two thousand. However, as there is but little history of the Malecites and Passamaquoddies separate from that of the Abnakis, it has been given under the latter in a preceding chapter.

The whole of the immense territory of the Labrador peninsula, equalling in size the British Isles, France, and Prussia combined, is, or at least was in 1860, thinly peopled by nomadic bands of Montagnais, Nascapes, Mistassins, and Swampy Cree Indians, and along the northern coasts by wandering Eskimo.

The Montagnais, who are mentioned as among the allies of Champlain in his expeditions against the Iroquois, were, in fact, a group of closely related small tribes living, at the time the French entered upon the scene, along the north shore of the St. Lawrence from the vicinity of Quebec almost to Straits of Belle Isle, and back northward to the watershed dividing the waters of the St. Lawrence from those of the streams flowing northward. These tribes are frequently mentioned by the early French writers as Bersiamites, Chisedecs, Tadousacs, Papinachois, etc., and collectively as the Lower Algonquins.

The Montagnais of Canada must be distinguished from the tribe of the same name in the Rocky Mountain region of British America, belonging to the Athapascan stock. Their history during the struggles of the colony is too completely involved in that of the other Algonquins to be separated therefrom in a general history. When not forced

to fly to the northern wilds by the attacks of the Iroquois, they usually gathered during a part of the year about the mission at Tadousac, which place began to be visited by missionaries at an early date, but the permanent mission was not established there until 1640. During the winter the missionaries usually followed their flocks upon their hunting expeditions toward the northern interior. The mission records speak of the attendance of the Montagnais at this station at various times up to 1782. Mention is also made of their almost constant wars in early days, and even in later years, with the Eskimo, who bordered them on the east. These were usually brought on in contests for control of the estuaries of rivers known to be favorite haunts of the seal, and most of the conflicts between them have occurred about these places. Nevertheless, a deadly enmity between the two peoples has existed from time immemorial. We are also informed that when the feeble nation known as Attikamegues, or White Fish, dwelling in the forests north of Three Rivers, had been hunted out by the Iroquois and well-nigh exterminated, the remnant fled to the embrace of the Montagnais, their near relatives.

Parkman, speaking of the Montagnais (*The Jesuits in North America*, xxiii, 1867), says: "They were of the lowest Algonquin type. Their ordinary sustenance was derived from the chase; though often, goaded by deadly famine, they would subsist on roots, the bark and buds of trees, or the foulest offal." Gabriel Sagard, the first to write of the Huron nation, seems to have entertained the same opinion in regard to them.

In 1812, their number was estimated at 1,500; in 1857, at 1,100; in 1884, they were officially reported as numbering 1,395 souls, located at Betsiamits, Escoumains, Grand Romaine, Lake St. John, and Mingan, Canada. According to the Canadian Indian report for 1888, they numbered at that time 1,919, showing an increase.

These Indians are described as having characteristics and customs similar in many respects to those of the western

Crees, with whom they are closely related ethnically. They count descent in the female line. Cartwright, describing them in 1786 (*Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador*), says they traverse the interior in the summer by the assistance of canoes covered with birch rinds, and with rackets, or snowshoes, in the winter. Although the gun was at that time their chief weapon, they made use of the bow and arrow to kill the moose. As they never stay long in a place, "they never build houses, but live the year round in miserable wigwams, the coverings of which are deerskins and birch-rinds."

The Nascape territory, or range, lay north of the Montagnais country, chiefly on the headwaters of the streams running north, especially those of Koksoak River, which empties into Ungava Bay. Mr. Henry Y. Hind, who visited the interior of Labrador in 1861 (*The Labrador Peninsula*), describes the country of these Indians as extending from Lake Mistassini to the Atlantic coast of the Labrador peninsula, a distance exceeding eight hundred miles. Their home is the interior tableland, it being only in recent years that they have visited the coast and shores of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence in considerable numbers.

The nomadic character of these Indians is indicated by the reply given to Hind when he inquired of a native in the interior their position at that time. He said fourteen families were at Petichikapau; that the others were beyond, toward Eskimo Bay [Hamilton Inlet] and Northwest River; and far away toward Ungava Bay, and on the other side toward Hudson's Bay.

It is the belief prevalent among them that they were driven to their present northern locality by the Iroquois, who formerly waged war against them. But their locality at that time is not given; however, they assert that their original home was in a country to the west, north of a great river, and to the east of them lay a great body of salt water, the position being apparently to the west of Hudson's Bay. When they reached their present habitats they found no

inhabitants save the Eskimo, who resided along the coast, chiefly along Hudson's Strait. For a while they remained in friendly relations with these coast Indians, but quarrels at length ensued and brought on war, which lasted for many years. Since the advent of white traders in that region peace has been restored.

There seems to have been but little intercourse between the French and the Nascapes during the control of the former, the names of these Indians appearing but few times in the history of the colony. It is possible that the Indians seen by Gasper Cortereal in 1499, seven of whom were carried by him to Portugal, were of this tribe, as the description given will not apply to the Eskimo.

In the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of Canada for 1858 is the following statement regarding the Nascapes and Mistassins:

To the tribes above enumerated we may add the Misstassins and Nasquapees, on the Lower St. Lawrence. The latter are akin to the Montagnais, and number about 2,500, of whom 1,500 are still pagans. This tribe acknowledge a Superior Being, who they say lives in the sun and moon. In this respect their legends correspond with the Ottawas. To this Deity they sacrifice a portion of everything they kill. They are clothed altogether in furs and deer skins, and are described as being most filthy in their habits. Their only weapons are the bow and arrow, and they resort to the use of the drill for the purpose of igniting their fires.

The Nepissings, with the exception of a brief period, have resided, since they were first brought to the notice of the whites by Champlain in 1615, about the lake of the same name at the head of Ottawa River. From their addiction to the practice of magic, they received the name of "Sorcerers," and are frequently referred to in the early records by this name. In the seventeenth century they ranged northward, in their hunting and marauding expeditions, to the vicinity of Hudson's Bay. It has been supposed that their earliest habitat was on the banks of the St. Lawrence; but there is no evidence to support this view, which probably arose from the fact that about the close of the war

between the Hurons and the Iroquois they descended to the St. Lawrence and remained there for a brief period.

The voyager Jean Nicolet lived among them for a time previous to 1632. The next we hear of them is in 1637, when they were visited by the missionaries Garnier and Chastelain, whose only reward was much suffering and the privilege of baptizing a few dying infants. In 1650, the Iroquois succeeded in penetrating to their northern home, and, having massacred a large number of them, forced the rest to seek safety by flight to more northern regions. Preferring, from being long accustomed thereto, the waterside, they chose as their retreat the shores of Lake Alimbe-gong [Nepigon], where they remained until 1667, when they returned to their accustomed haunts about the waters of Lake Nepissing.

Their history appears to have been, to a large extent, embraced without distinction in that of other Algonquin tribes. In 1662, during their forced retirement, while on one of their expeditions they joined a party of Saulteurs [Chippewas] in a successful attack upon a band of Iroquois encamped on the shore of Lake Superior near its lower extremity. Shortly after this, they united with the White Fish Indians, the Montagnais, and a band of Micmacs, constituting a party of four or five hundred warriors, to make an attack upon the Iroquois. This project, however, soon came to naught because of their inability to agree upon a leader. It does not appear that they were attacked after 1671 by the Iroquois. The Nepissings were always firm friends of the French.

According to the report of the Commissioner of Canadian Indian Affairs for 1897, there were then living on the reservation at Lake Nepissing one hundred and ninety-three persons of this tribe, but there were others at other points, the numbers of which are not given under the tribal name. Those on the reserve at Lake Nepissing are all Roman Catholics, and have an excellent church, and also a school under a female teacher.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDIAN HISTORY OF THE OHIO VALLEY; OR, THE BORDER WARS

It is a singular fact that the valley of the Ohio, one of the most productive and attractive sections east of the Mississippi, one in which the evidences of a former population are most abundant, was inhabited by no native tribe at the time it first became known to Europeans and for a considerable period thereafter. The Indian history of the region is peculiar in the fact that it is not the history of any distinct tribe or tribes, but of the meeting of the clans, the battles of the nations. It is only when we go back to the traditionary era, or come down to later years when tribes, feeling the pressure of the growing white settlements, retired hither to find less disturbed hunting grounds, that any Indians had their homes in this section. The area now included in West Virginia has never, within the range of history, been the permanent home of a single Indian tribe; bands have resided temporarily within its limits, but it was not the pristine habitat, the fixed seat, of any known tribe. The state of Ohio, except along its lake border, was without native settlements, from its discovery by Europeans until after the commencement of the eighteenth century; and the same was true of that part of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghanies. Neither history nor tradition tells of any tribe which had its seat in the area now included in the state of Kentucky—save possibly the extension along the Cumberland of the Shawnee settlements.

Colonel M. F. Force, long a resident of Ohio and a careful student of the early history of that section, remarks, in his paper entitled *Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio*: "In the latter half of the seventeenth century, after the destruction of the Eries by the Five Nations, in 1656, what is now the State of Ohio was uninhabited. The Miami Confederacy, inhabiting the southern shore of Lake Michigan, extended southeasterly to the Wabash. The Illinois Confederacy extended down the eastern shore of the Mississippi to within about eighty miles of the Ohio. Hunting parties of the Chickasaws roamed up the eastern shore of the Mississippi to about where Memphis now stands. The Cherokees occupied the slopes and valleys of the mountains about the borders of what is now East Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia. The great basin, bounded north by Lake Erie, the Miamis, and the Illinois, west by the Mississippi, east by the Alleghanies, and south by the headwaters of the streams that flow into the Gulf of Mexico, seems to have been uninhabited except by bands of Shawnees, and scarcely visited except by war parties of the Five Nations." During the first half of the eighteenth century, tribes from other sections pushed into its limits across its three open borders,—east, west, and south.

It is in this region that the prehistoric merges into the historic, the traditional into the real. Although its interior was the last region east of the Mississippi to be penetrated by explorers, the blended rays of history and reliable tradition reach back to a date which precedes that of De Soto's expedition, and enable us to judge perhaps more correctly of the early movements of tribes in the interior than any other available data.

Brief mention has been made [Chapter VI.] of the tradition of the Delawares regarding the migration which brought them into their historic seats. Following this tradition, it is apparent that they passed through Ohio from west to east, encountering during their passage the Tallega, or Talegwi, with whom for a time they engaged in a fierce war, ultimately driving these enemies southward. It is now

generally conceded that the people mentioned as the Tallega or Talegwi were Cherokees; hence, if the tradition be accepted, we must locate the Cherokees at an early date in the valley of the upper Ohio. The Cherokees had a tradition that they formerly lived on the Ohio, or upper Ohio, and migrated thence to their home in western North Carolina and east Tennessee. Nor is this without further corroboration, as Loskiel, writing in 1778, says that about eighty years before his time, on the whites settling on the coast, the Delawares came to Ohio, drove the Cherokees away, and settled on Beaver Creek. The date given is clearly erroneous, but the tradition indicates a remembrance on the part of the Delawares of having driven the Cherokees from Ohio. The tradition is given at an earlier date and more consistently by Rev. Charles Beatty in his *Journal of a Two Months' Tour* [1767]. In this—as stated in a previous chapter [VI.]—he says, their tradition is that they “came to Delaware River, where they settled three hundred and seventy years ago,” which would carry back the date of their settlement to the closing years of the fourteenth century. Although their progress from the Ohio to the Delaware must have required several years, ample time is allowed for the settlement of the Cherokees in their historic seats before the date of De Soto's expedition [1540].

These traditions have been referred to as furnishing some grounds for believing that the upper Ohio Valley was, at an early date, occupied by the Cherokee tribe, a member of the Iroquoian family. The Eries, another branch of the same stock, passed to the south side of Lake Erie either before or soon after their expulsion. It is therefore probable that the section vacated by the Cherokees remained practically uninhabited until tribes began to enter it in historic times. The supposition that it was occupied at an early day by the Shawnees, who were driven out by the Iroquois, will be referred to in another chapter.

Another tribe mentioned which belongs to the traditional era is the Akansea—known at a later date as Akansa or

Quapaw, of Arkansas, living on the Ouabache [Wabash]. From the fact that the name "Ouabache" was sometimes applied to the lower Ohio, this tradition—which appears to be based on fact—is made to do duty as evidence that the Akanseas—or Quapaw, a Siouan tribe—formerly resided on the upper Ohio. That this is evidently an error will be shown hereafter when the history of the Quapaws is given.

In entering upon the actual history of this region it is necessary to drop for a time tribal distinctions, as the story is of the gathering of the clans in their efforts to stop the tide of white immigration that was sweeping westward. But the beginning of the struggle relates not so much to the history of the Indians as to the contest between the two great European powers in which the prize sought was the controlling influence in North America. The chess board embraced the great areas drained by the St. Lawrence and the Ohio, and armies were the pieces with which the game was to be played. Montreal, Niagara, and the upper Ohio were the points of vantage; the control of the Ohio hung chiefly upon the retention of the point where the Alleghany and the Monongahela unite their waters to form the "Beautiful River." The Indians were the accessories in this great contest.

During the years 1751 to 1753, the Indians of Ohio, alarmed at the movements of the French, which indicated taking possession of their country, sent appeals to the English to come to their defence. The Weas and Piankishaws signed articles of peace and alliance with the English, the Shawnees sent in their warning message, and the Miamis declared their adherence to the English and hurried an express messenger across the mountains to Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, with the warning: "We must look upon ourselves as lost, if our brothers the English do not stand by us and give us arms." Delay in heeding these appeals allowed the French to seize upon the vantage points, and when the conflict came the colonists were accompanied

by but few Indian allies; while those who had joined the French—Ottawas, Abnakis, Ojibwas [Chippewas], Hurons, and Conewangos—turned the scale, and Braddock was slain and his army defeated. Of his eighty-six officers only twenty-three remained unhurt, and of twelve hundred soldiers who crossed the Monongahela more than seven hundred were killed or wounded.

The results of this defeat, attributable chiefly to the total inefficiency of General Braddock, were disastrous, for the border settlements of the provinces had to endure the miseries of an Indian war. The tribes who had stood aloof, watching the issue of the contest, wavering as to the party—French or English—with which they should cast their lot, hesitated no longer. Their appeals to the English had been neglected, and even the offers of some to join Braddock's army had been rejected. "It is not in Indian nature," remarks Parkman, "to stand quiet in the midst of war; and the defeat of Braddock was a signal for the western savages to snatch their tomahawks and assail the English settlements with one accord; to murder and pillage with ruthless fury, and turn the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia into one wide scene of woe and desolation." Some of the results which occurred east of the mountains have already been mentioned.

Throughout the territory now included in West Virginia and along the western border of Pennsylvania, murders were committed by small roving bands with such alarming frequency as to keep the settlers in constant fear, and to drive many to seek refuge in the forts or other places of security; those in the more exposed localities abandoned their homes and stock to the mercy of the savage invaders. The Delawares of the Ohio, who had been friendly to the English before Braddock's defeat, and whose service had been rejected by that self-willed, inefficient leader, were now assisting the savage Shawnees in their work of murder and devastation. The border became a waste, the silence broken only by the warwhoop of the Indians.

The time had come for an upward turn of the wheel of fortune; but the progress was interrupted by blunders. In 1757, Colonel Armstrong, at the head of about three hundred volunteers, made an incursion into the Indian country and attacked a town, probably Delaware, killing forty, and rescuing eleven prisoners. The next step, however, was one of ill fortune. The site of Fort Du Quesne and the surrounding area seem to have been for a time fatal ground to the English. The retention of this fort as the key to the Ohio valley was necessary to the control of that vast area. General Forbes was placed in command of the forces despatched to retake the fort. Major Grant was sent forward to reconnoitre. Having reached a hill near the fort during the night and posted his men, he awaited the dawn. The silence which reigned in the fort was imputed by this too confident officer to the terror inspired by his appearance on the scene, and with more parade than prudence he ordered the reveille to be sounded. But the calm, unfortunately for himself and troop, proved to be the precursor of a storm which burst forth with resistless fury. Hardly had the alarm been sounded before the French and Indians rushed from the fort, spreading death and dismay among the provincial troops, who were unable to withstand the fierce onset of the savages that led in the attack with deafening yells. The rout of the English was complete; no quarter was given by the Indians, who brooked no control, but exercised every cruelty that savage ferocity could inflict upon those who fell into their hands. Major Grant and Major Lewis—second in command—saved themselves only by surrendering to French officers. Twenty officers and two hundred and seventy-three privates were killed and taken prisoners in this fatal action. When General Forbes reached the fort, he found it abandoned. Taking possession, he repaired and garrisoned it, and renamed it Fort Pitt, in honor of the statesman so prominent at that day in the British Parliament.

The moral effect of the capture and garrisoning of this fort was greater than a defeat in single battle of the French

in this region would have been. Not only did it diffuse a general joy through the colonies, but it caused the ever fickle savages to hesitate and forecast the probable issue. Even before the fort was captured, the approach of the army under General Forbes caused the Indians of Ohio to waver in their attachment to the French; and during the autumn they sent deputies to Easton, where a great council was held and a formal peace was concluded. The close of the struggle of the two great powers was at hand, and in 1763 Canada passed under English control and French dominion in North America was ended.

Before proceeding with the Indian history of the Ohio valley and adjoining regions, we quote from Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac* the following statement in reference to the Indian population of this region at the close of the war:

So thin and scattered was the native population, that, even in those parts which were thought well peopled, one might sometimes journey for days together through the twilight forest, and meet no human form. Broad tracts were left in solitude. All Kentucky was a vacant waste, a mere skirmishing ground for the hostile war-parties of the north and south. A great part of Upper Canada, of Michigan, and of Illinois, besides other portions of the west, were tenanted by wild beasts alone. To form a close estimate of the numbers of the erratic bands who roamed this wilderness would be impossible; but it may be affirmed that, between the Mississippi on the west and the ocean on the east, between the Ohio on the south and Lake Superior on the north, the whole Indian population, at the close of the French war, did not greatly exceed ten thousand fighting men. Of these, following the statement of Sir William Johnson, in 1763, the Iroquois had nineteen hundred and fifty, the Delawares about six hundred, the Shawanoes about three hundred, the Wyandots about four hundred and fifty, and the Miami tribes, with their neighbors the Kickapoos, eight hundred; while the Ottawas, the Ojibwas, and other wandering tribes of the north, defy all efforts at enumeration.

His further statement in regard to the distribution of the tribes in this region may be added to complete the picture: "Detached bands of the western Iroquois dwelt upon the head waters of the Alleghany, mingled with their neighbors, the Delawares, who had several villages upon this stream.

The great body of the latter nation, however, lived upon the Beaver Creeks and the Muskingum in numerous scattered towns and hamlets. . . . The Shawanoes had sixteen small villages upon the Scioto and its branches. Farther toward the west, on the waters of the Wabash and the Maumee, dwelt the Miamis, who, less exposed, from their position, to the poison of the whiskey keg, and the example of debauched traders, retained their ancient character and customs in greater purity than their eastern neighbors. This cannot be said of the Illinois, who dwelt near the borders of the Mississippi, and who, having lived more than half a century in close contact with the French, had become a corrupt and degenerate race. The Wyandots of Sandusky and Detroit far surpassed the surrounding tribes in energy of character and social progress."

Although this is intended only as a broad and general statement, and any omissions are covered by the concluding sentence of the paragraph: "It is needless to pursue farther this catalogue of tribes," etc.,—the reader, taking it in connection with the previously quoted paragraph, is, unless acquainted with Indian history, liable to draw therefrom an erroneous conclusion. That the statements in their broad sense are substantially correct—as is true in general of the statements of this able writer—is admitted, but to what extent the unnamed tribes are included under the Miamis and Kickapoos is uncertain. Johnson does not mention the Illinois in his enumeration, yet we learn from the report of Lieutenant Fraser (1766, *Indiana Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii, No. 2, 1894) that "the Illinois Indians are about six hundred and fifty able to bear arms." The Mascoutens and Potawatomes are omitted, though the former may possibly be included under "Miamis and Kickapoos." Sir William Johnson, as we have seen, estimates the fighting men of the Miami tribes and the Kickapoos at about eight hundred; whereas, if we refer to Croghan's *Journal*, 37, and take his estimate, including the Mascoutens and Potawatomes, we find it reaches to nineteen hundred fighting men, and

Bouquet's estimate (*Bouquet's Expedition*, 1545) raises the number to thirty-two hundred. The estimate by George Imlay (*Topographical Description of the Western Territory*) agrees more nearly with that of Johnson, being equivalent to about twelve hundred warriors; though this applies to a little later date, when the tribes had suffered further decrease during the Pontiac war and subsequent hostilities.

These items are noted simply to emphasize the fact that Dr. Parkman's statements in this regard must be accepted, so far as population is concerned, only in the broad and general sense in which they seem to be given. That there were broad areas without inhabitants is true, but this was true in many other regions, for it was usual to find the population grouped at certain favorite points.

The conclusion of the war and treaty of peace between France and England, with the loss to the former of its territory, was, in the minds of the Indians, a heavy blow to their hopes and future prospects. They could hardly realize, notwithstanding the many rumors to that effect, that their French father, who had furnished them powder and ball, besides numerous trinkets and baubles, was forever divested of his power in America. The Algonquins were wedded to the French, and a change of the ruling power was distasteful to them. The stories of the many French traders, who wandered from tribe to tribe plying their avocation, which received assurance from the French still holding posts in the west, that the vessels of their father across the water would soon be moving up the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence to stop the tide of English immigrants who were preparing to cross the Ohio and possess their lands, were believed by the Indians. The deep-rooted hatred of the Indians for the English was intensified by these stories, and when they beheld them taking possession of the forts and posts they looked upon this as the first step of the programme. They were ripe for revolt; it needed only a strong mind, an able leader, and an artful schemer to blow the smoking embers into a blaze. The

occasion, in human affairs, usually brings forward the one needed for the object in view; the rule did not fail to hold good in this instance,—a leader was found in the person of Pontiac.

Although the Indians of the Northwest were ill prepared at the close of the French war to engage in a war with the English, it must be admitted that the latter gave them grounds for fighting. The French cherished them, treated them as equals, lived side by side with them in harmony, and pleased them with gifts and display. They were traders, and not agriculturists; their object was the acquisition of wealth by trade, and not by the acquisition of land. The English were husbandmen and sought land for homes and farms, and when obtained looked upon them as their exclusive territory; and when the Indians invaded these limits they were treated with a haughty opposition and ordered away. But the chief cause of discontent among the tribes was the intrusion of settlers upon their lands, at all times a fruitful source of Indian hostility. Pontiac, whose mind could grasp more fully than his people the probable result of the transfer of control, warned them of the danger of allowing the English to make permanent settlements in their country, and counselled them to unite in one great effort against this common foe. It is not probable that he entertained the prevailing idea of the Indians, that they, unaided, could drive the English from the country, for he knew too well their military skill and power. He believed the stories constantly dinned in his ears by the remaining French, that a mighty army of their countrymen was on its way to regain possession of their lost territory.

A wild enthusiast, as has so often happened in the history of the world, arose among the Delawares at the proper moment to aid in fanning the flame and in furthering the designs of the arch conspirator. He claimed to have received his commission from the Great Spirit; and preached the simplicity of former times when peace and plenty prevailed, and warned them if they would be acceptable to

the Great Spirit and expect success against their enemies they must return to their primitive habits. He urged them to cast aside the weapons and clothing they had received from the whites, and take up again the bow and arrow and spear, and dress as in former times, as this was to be the starting point of success. His teachings were listened to with eager ears, and people in bands came from distant points to hear him. For the most part, his suggestions were much regarded by the Indians; but they were well aware that the weapons of the white man could not be dispensed with. Though his words may have had but little reason in them, they served well Pontiac's purpose to arouse the nations and bring them to his aid in the great effort he was planning. The time for slipping the leash and beginning the onslaught was fixed; May following [1763] was agreed upon as the opportune moment. Messengers bearing war belts and tomahawks stained red had been sent to all the tribes from the upper lakes to the lower Mississippi. The response was general, the hatchet was taken up and aid pledged; and, with few exceptions, the Algonquins east of the Mississippi and south of Ottawa River, the Wyandots, and the Senecas, and even some of the tribes of the lower Mississippi, joined the movement.

Although so many had entered the plot, complete secrecy of their design was maintained, and though, when enraged by English insolence, now and then they would threaten the officers with revenge, no warning of the impending danger, with a single exception, was given until the plot burst forth in death and devastation.

The scheme agreed upon was to attack the several English forts—Pitt, Detroit, Presque Isle, Miami, and others—simultaneously, the Indians of each section to attack the fort in their vicinity; then, the garrisons having been massacred, the frontiers were next to be ravaged, and thus the work was to progress. The great mass of the Indians, having performed the war dance and wrought themselves into a state of frenzied enthusiasm and thirst for blood, no

doubt looked forward to a victorious march to the sea, marked with blood and ruin. Pontiac, who was an Ottawa chief, directed his efforts against Detroit. Near the fort were three large Indian villages; one, of the Potawatomies, located a little below the fort on the same side of the river; one, of the Wyandots, on the Canada side; and that of the Ottawa band, where Pontiac had his home, on the same side some distance up the river.

Early in March, 1763, Ensign Holmes, in command of Fort Miami [Fort Wayne], had been informed by a friendly Indian that the warriors in a neighboring village had lately received a war belt, with directions to them to destroy him and the garrison. The commandant convened the Indians and openly charged them with their design. They confessed the truthfulness of the report, but declared the plot had originated with a neighboring tribe, and promised to abandon it. This was communicated to Major Gladwyn, commandant at Detroit, who regarded it as an ordinary outbreak that would soon pass and took no further notice of it.

The time for carrying the plot into effect was now at hand. The last preceding council of the Indians was held at the Potawatomi village, where, as subsequently ascertained, Pontiac fully unfolded his plan. It was his intention, as he informed the assembled chiefs, to demand a council with the commandant concerning matters of great importance, which he believed would be granted, and himself and his principal chiefs would thus gain admittance to the fort. They were all to carry weapons concealed beneath their blankets. While he was in the act of addressing the commandant he would give a certain sign, upon which the chiefs were to raise the warwhoop and shoot the English officers. In the meantime, the other Indians waiting about the gate, on hearing the yells and firing within the building, were to assail the unsuspecting soldiers. Thus Detroit would fall an easy prey.

The scheme was well laid, and might have been carried out with success but for the intervention of a Chippewa

girl. She had probably attended the council or had seen the preparations and learned the particulars of the plot. Having been flattered by the attention paid her by Gladwyn, she made known to him the impending danger. "To-morrow," she informed him, "Pontiac, with sixty of his warriors, will come to the fort. All will have short guns hidden under their blankets, which will be drawn close about their necks so as to hide the guns. Pontiac will ask to hold a peace council, and will make a speech and then offer you peace wampum. Then the warriors, who will have their hands on their guns, will make a quick jump and fire, killing all the English officers. Then come all the Indians outside, and kill all but the French—leave no English alive."

The night passed without any disturbing incident save the whoop of the warriors as they mingled in the dance; but the day soon brought evidence of the truthfulness of the Chippewa girl's story. Canoes in unusual numbers were seen making their way across the river, and the open ground about the fort began to be covered with warriors fancifully decorated. Ere the morning had passed, Pontiac and his companions reached the fort. All were wrapped to their throats with colored blankets. Gladwyn, who had pondered well the situation, had determined on his course of action: he decided that he would admit them. When they entered the gate and gazed about them, surprise was apparent even on their immobile features, and uneasy glances betrayed their suspicions; the entire garrison was on duty, with sabres and bayonets glistening, ready at every point for instant action. Gladwyn and his officers, with swords at their sides and pistols in their belts, calmly awaited their entrance. Before the Indians had taken their seats upon the mats prepared for them, Pontiac indicated his apprehensions by inquiring why "the father's young men were standing in the street with their guns." "I have ordered the soldiers under arms for the sake of exercise and discipline," was the reply through the interpreter. The wily chief, with the wampum belt in his hand, began his oration;

but when he reached the point where it was to be delivered, Gladwyn waved his hand for a pause in the proceedings—and at the same moment the garrison drum beat a thundering roll, and the guards in the passage rattled their arms as they brought them into position for action; and the commandant and his officers clasped their swords, ready, if need be, to meet the premeditated onslaught. The plans of the great chief were foiled, and he stood before the little, but determined, band of whites as if overcome by a sudden shock. The meeting was over, and the deputation returned crestfallen.

The mask was now thrown aside; the dwellings of two English residents near the fort were visited and the inmates massacred, and two officers were waylaid and killed near Lake St. Clair. It is unnecessary, however, to note the intervening incidents; the attack on the fort began with all the force and vigor the savages were able to command. For several weeks the little garrison held the tawny host at bay, “during all which no man lay down to sleep, except in his clothes, and with his weapons at his side.” The besieged as well as besiegers were for a time saved from famine by the Canadians. Ere the contest ended, news began to flow in from other points in regard to the progress of the great plot. A fleet of boats, which had been moving up the lake to supply the western posts with provisions and recruits, was captured by a band of Wyandots and most of the men killed or made prisoners, and the latter were doomed to suffer torture and death. Now came the news to Major Gladwyn and his besieged garrison that the fort at Sandusky had been captured and burned and the troops massacred. Then came the information that Fort St. Joseph had fallen; and next, news of the massacre of Fort Michilimackinac. Of all the bloody narratives that shocked the trembling garrison of Detroit, the last was perhaps the most thrilling. But the cup of sorrow had not yet been drained to the dregs; following this dreadful news came that of the fall of Ouiatanon, the small fort on the Wabash, and the capture

of the garrison. Gladwyn hardly had time to read the letter bearing this information before news of the loss of Fort Miami reached him. The fall of Presque Isle was next in order. News of this disaster arrived on the 20th of June, and two days afterward a horde of savages passed by the fort with the scalps of the slain fluttering from their belts. The next to share this fate were the forts at Le Bœuf and Venango. Detroit and Fort Pitt alone remained in the hands of the English.

The news of these disheartening events, following so closely one after the other, were well calculated to cast gloom over the besieged garrison at Detroit; but defence was their only hope, and each man, from the commandant down, stood ready to do his duty. A schooner at length arrived, bringing the much needed supplies and additional troops, and also the important news that peace had been concluded between England and France. The landing, however, was not without strong resistance by the Indians; but by the stratagem of the commander, in keeping the larger portion of his men concealed and thus deceiving the Indians, he succeeded in dispersing them and landing his forces and supplies. Pontiac, thwarted in his design of preventing relief, turned his anger against the French for not giving him active assistance. He upbraided them for this lack of aid, and announced his intention, unless they joined him, to turn his arms against them as siding with the English. This threat, however, failed to have any other effect than to enlist on his side a few half-breeds and traders.

While events were thus passing in Detroit, Captain Dalzell was on his way with twenty barges, bearing a further supply of ammunition and provisions and two hundred and eighty men. These were landed after a skirmish with the Indians, in which the English lost twenty men in killed and wounded. Strengthened by this additional force, the besieged garrison unwisely decided to sally forth and attack the Indian camp. Although the force succeeded in regaining their quarters, it was not until fifty-nine of the number

were lost in killed and wounded, the heroic Dalzell being among the killed. The little run known before as Parent's Creek has since the night of that bitter contest been called, in commemoration of the event, "Bloody Run." The loss of the Indians in this engagement did not exceed twenty.

September was now drawing to a close, and the savages, having continued the siege since May, were becoming wearied and disappointed at their unsuccessful efforts. Moreover, news had reached them that Major Wilkins was approaching with a large army to destroy them, while nothing further was heard of the promised army the King of France was sending to aid them. As their ammunition was well-nigh spent, and winter with all its hardships was close at hand, they decided to sue for peace, intending, however, to renew the strife in the spring. Wapocomoguth the head chief of the Missisaugas, a Chippewa, was chosen as mediator. Gladwyn, though fully aware of the hollowness of their professions, yet desirous of an opportunity to secure provisions for the winter, consented to a truce, stating that he was not empowered to enter into a treaty of peace. This arrangement included the Missisauga, Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Wyandot tribes, but not the Ottawas, as they had not asked for peace. The latter, urged on by Pontiac, their leader, refused to humble themselves as their brothers had done, and continued hostilities.

Although this desertion by his allies was a severe blow to the hopes of Pontiac, another fell at this time which put an end to his expectation of capturing Detroit, and, for the time being, to his great plan. A French messenger came to his camp in October, with a letter from M. Neyon, commandant at Fort Chartres, the principal post in Illinois. This letter assured him that all the stories which had been told him in reference to the approach of a great French army were false; that the French and English were now at peace and regarded one another as brothers, and advised him to abandon the siege. This last stroke blasted the remaining hope of the great Ottawa chief. Chafing under bitter

disappointment, he left the scene of his long struggle, and, accompanied by his principal chiefs, retired to the Maumee, where he began to lay his plans for renewing the war in the spring. The garrison at Detroit was at last allowed a season of rest. The territory for miles around the fort was now almost deserted, the besiegers having departed for the hunting grounds.

Considering the matter from his standpoint, the wily chief had made a blunder in lying so long about the fort at Detroit. Had this siege been abandoned and his force thrown against Fort Pitt or spread in scattering bodies along the line of settlements, the injury inflicted upon the English would have been much greater than it was. Indian warfare was poorly adapted to sieges, and such attempts were very rarely of lengthened continuance, this case being the longest known in the history of our country. The capture of the fort, as Pontiac was well aware, would have been a serious blow to the English cause, and would doubtless have prolonged the war. The heroic defence by Major Gladwyn and his beleaguered garrison no doubt prevented much destruction which would have occurred had the Indians gathered about the fort been turned loose upon the frontiers.

Though the incidents of the war are too numerous for all to receive notice here, there are some which claim our attention. While Detroit was the scene where the great actor in this bloody drama was playing his part, transactions at other points were of thrilling interest in the story of the fierce strife. While the hosts of savage warriors were gathered about Detroit, the clouds began to thicken about Fort Pitt. This stronghold, the key to the Ohio valley, was an eyesore to the Indians, which they wished and hoped to blot out of existence. No determined attack had yet been made, but the bands were trending toward this meeting point, marking their way with smoking ruins and slaughtered tenants.

On the 22d of June, a party of warriors appeared upon the plain behind the fort. After driving off the horses

and killing a number of cattle, they opened a brisk fire upon the fort, killing two men, but upon the discharge of the howitzers fled in confusion. They soon appeared in another quarter and kept up the firing during the night. About nine o'clock next morning, several Indians approached the fort, when one of them, a Delaware, addressed the garrison as follows:

My brothers, we that stand here are your friends; but we have bad news to tell you. Six great nations of Indians have taken up the hatchet and cut off all the English garrisons excepting yours. They are now on their way to destroy you also. My brothers, we are your friends, and we wish to save your lives. What we desire you to do is this: you must leave this fort, with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here, but we will protect you from them. You must go at once, because if you wait till the six great nations arrive here you will all be killed, and we can do nothing to protect you.

Captain Ecuyer, who fully understood the game they were playing, made the following reply:

My brothers, we are very grateful for your kindness, though we are convinced that you must be mistaken in what you have told us about the forts being captured. As for ourselves, we have plenty of provisions, and are able to keep this fort against all the nations of Indians that may dare to attack it. We are very well off in this place, and we mean to stay here. My brothers, as you have shown yourselves such true friends, we feel bound in gratitude to inform you that an army of six thousand English will shortly arrive here, and that another army of three thousand is gone up the lakes to punish the Ottawas and the Ojibwas. A third is gone to the frontiers of Virginia, where they will be joined by your enemies, the Cherokees and Catawbas, who are coming here to destroy you; therefore, take pity on your women and children and get out of the way as soon as possible. We have told you this in confidence, out of our great solicitude lest any of you should be hurt, and we hope that you will not tell the other Indians, lest they should escape from our vengeance.

This story of three advancing armies, which Captain Ecuyer had invented and related in serious tones as a piece of friendly advice, fell like a thunderclap upon the ear of his dusky auditors. They left the place in haste, and

meeting a large band of warriors they knew were approaching related to them the news they had heard; the purpose of attacking the fort was for the time abandoned. It was immediately after this episode that the evil news which had poured in upon the besieged at Detroit began to reach the garrison at Fort Pitt. A soldier who had escaped from Presque Isle told of the capture of that post, and of the ruin of the little forts of Le Bœuf and Venango, which he had passed on his way hither. From Le Bœuf, eight survivors reached Fort Pitt; but not one of the garrison at Venango survived to tell the story of its fall.

By this time the storm had burst in all its fury on the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Everywhere the warriors were destroying plantations, burning homes, and slaughtering men, women, and children. Roving parties were everywhere; in fact, the Indian seemed to have become ubiquitous. Those pioneers who were wise in time hurried with their wives and little ones to the forts and stronger settlements, pressing onward night and day, to escape the merciless pursuers who followed in their wake. The border towns swarmed with wretched fugitives, who brought such tales of woe that the cheeks of the listeners paled with horror.

Colonel Bouquet was now on his way to relieve Fort Pitt, about which the Indians had again gathered in great numbers; and they also had possession of the country between it and Ligonier. Having relieved Forts Bedford and Ligonier, he hurried on toward Fort Pitt, but was destined to pass through a bloody ordeal before it was reached. While entering the region which had proved such fatal ground to expeditions in the past, his force was suddenly attacked by a large body of Indians at Bushy Run, and would have been entirely defeated had it not been for a successful stratagem employed by the commander for extricating his men from the dangerous position in which they were placed. After sustaining a furious onslaught from one o'clock until night, and for several hours the next morning, a feigned

retreat was ordered, with a view to draw the Indians into open ground and a closer contest. Previous to this movement, two companies of infantry and grenadiers were placed in ambuscade. The plan succeeded; the result was precisely what the commander anticipated. When the apparent retreat was observed by the savages, they thought themselves sure of victory, and pressing forward with renewed vigor and yells of triumph fell into the ambuscade and were dispersed with great slaughter. The loss on the side of the English was severe, amounting to more than one hundred in killed and wounded. The loss sustained by the Indians was acutely felt by them, as, in addition to the number of warriors who fell during the engagement, several of their prominent chiefs were among the slain.

The hopes of the Indians, who had the reduction of Fort Pitt so much at heart, were blasted, as the added force and ample supply of the munitions of war placed its conquest beyond their reach.

While the events which have been mentioned were occurring, Sir William Johnson was laboring with the Six Nations to secure their friendship in behalf of the English, at least to the extent that they would remain neutral. For this purpose he invited the warriors to meet him at Johnson Hall. The council, which opened September 7, 1763, was largely attended by people of the Six Nations, and, although reluctantly given, he obtained the promise of those present to remain friends of the English and also to make war against the tribes in arms against them. He also induced some of the Canadian tribes to send a deputation to the western Indians, requesting them to lay down the hatchet; and the Iroquois also sent deputies to the Delawares for the same purpose. However, the Senecas, who were then in arms against the English, refused to attend the council.

In the autumn of 1763, Sir William Johnson, still pursuing his efforts to bring about a cessation of hostilities, sent messengers to the tribes in all parts of the Northwest, warning them that in the spring a large army was coming to

destroy them, and urging all who desired peace to meet him at Niagara. The failure of the Indians to capture Forts Pitt and Detroit, and their sufferings during the early part of the winter, disposed them to give a hearty acceptance to this proposal; and many warriors from various tribes set out for the place of meeting.

The number of savages assembled at this meeting was unusually large, and was also representative of various tribes. In addition to the host of Iroquois who had congregated about Fort Niagara, there were delegations from the Chipewas, Ottawas, Missisaugas, Menominees from the north, Conewangos from Canada, and Wyandots from Detroit. The Sauks and Foxes and the Winnebagoes had sent their deputies; and even the Osages, a tribe living beyond the Mississippi, had their representative in the general meeting. Although so many tribes indicated their desire for peace by attending the council, the Delawares and Shawnees manifested their hostility to the English by remaining away from the meeting and sending a haughty message to Johnson. The Senecas, who had recently made a preliminary treaty with Sir William Johnson, and promised to be at Niagara to ratify and complete it, failed to appear, and had even leagued themselves with a band of hostile Delawares. A message was sent to them, threatening that unless they came at once to Niagara the English would march against them and burn their villages. This proved effective, as these formidable warriors appeared at the meeting, bringing with them a number of prisoners they held. Treaties of peace were concluded with the tribes separately, and the meeting finally closed with the smoking of pipes, shaking of hands, and distribution of presents. With the submission of the Delawares and Shawnees, brought about by Bouquet's expedition into their country, the Pontiac war was at an end, though Indian hostility had not ceased to manifest itself. The fire, though burning lower, was destined to break forth again into a blaze. The battle between civilization and savagery in the valley of the Ohio had not yet been fought

to a finish. However, before entering upon the second chapter of the Indian history of this region, let us follow the great Ottawa chief to the termination of his career.

Although his great scheme of conquest had failed and his allies had deserted him, his spirit was yet undaunted and his thirst for revenge on the English unquenched. As all hope of conquest in the east had vanished, he turned his steps toward the west. The French still held the forts in this section and at the south, and there were Indian nations there who as yet had not tried their arms against the hated English. Here was still an opportunity for ambition. It was with such thoughts that he left his home on the Maumee and turned to the west. But the opening of this new scheme can best be given in the words of Parkman :

While Laclede was founding St. Louis, while the discontented settlers of the Illinois were deserting their homes, and while St. Ange was laboring to pacify his Indian neighbors, all the tribes from the Maumee to the Mississippi were in a turmoil of excitement. Pontiac was among them, furious as a wild beast at bay. By the double campaign of 1764, his best hopes had been crushed to the earth ; but he stood unshaken amidst the ruin, and still struggled with desperate energy to retrieve his broken cause. On the side of the northern lakes, the movements of Bradstreet had put down the insurrection of the tribes, and wrested back the military posts which cunning and treachery had placed within their grasp. In the south, Bouquet had forced to abject submission the warlike Delawares and Shawanoes, the warriors on whose courage and obstinacy Pontiac had grounded his strongest confidence. On every hand defeat and disaster were closing around him. One sanctuary alone remained, the country of the Illinois. Here the flag of France still floated on the banks of the Mississippi, and here no English foot had dared to penetrate. He resolved to invoke all his resources, and bend all his energies to defend this last citadel.

Here he received encouragement from the French fur traders. They repeated the old falsehood that the French and English had not made peace, and that a French army would soon appear to drive out the intruders. It was his last rallying point, and he bent all his efforts to arouse the inhabitants to revolt. Ambassadors were despatched to the south, to stir up the tribes of that section, and to plead

with the French commandant at New Orleans to lend his aid to the movement. But the mission was fruitless; they received no encouragement, and took their departure scowling and enraged with disappointment. The failure of this embassy was the final blow to the chieftain's plans; it was then that all hope of success departed and the dream of his life forever vanished. Impatient under uncertainty, his resolution was soon taken; he would make peace with his conquerors, though the hope of a more fitting opportunity for striking the fatal blow was perhaps not entirely abandoned.

Croghan, who was on a mission to the west, was now approaching Fort Chartres. He was met by Pontiac, attended by his numerous chiefs and warriors, who gave his hand to Croghan in token of submission and accompanied him on his journey eastward. Arriving at Detroit on the 17th of August, they found encamped about the fort—the scene of the chieftain's great struggle for victory—an immense gathering of Ottawas, Potawatomies, and Chipewas. These readily responded to his invitation to a council; but they came together no longer with any intention of urging one another to hostile action, for all such thoughts had vanished from their minds; their desire now was for peace. Pontiac declared himself for peace, and sent to Sir William Johnson the calumet, with the assurance that he had taken the King of England as his father in presence of the nations there assembled. He promised Croghan to go in the spring to Oswego, and, in behalf of the tribes lately composing his league, conclude a treaty of peace with Sir William Johnson. This promise was faithfully kept. In April, 1769, he visited the Illinois Indians at Cahokia, and, after a drunken carousal, was treacherously slain by a Kaskaskia Indian, who had been hired to commit the deed by an English trader. Thus ended the career of one of the greatest native chieftains of our country.

Parkman gives his character briefly as follows:

The fact that Pontiac was born the son of a chief would in no degree account for the extent of his power; for, among Indians, many a chief's

son sinks back into insignificance, while the offspring of a common warrior may succeed to his place. Among all the wild tribes of the continent, personal merit is indispensable to gaining or preserving dignity. Courage, resolution, wisdom, address, and eloquence are sure passports to distinction. With all these Pontiac was preëminently endowed, and it was chiefly to them, urged to their highest activity by a vehement ambition, that he owed his greatness. His intellect was strong and capacious. He possessed commanding energy and force of mind, and in subtlety and craft could match the best of his wily race. But, though capable of acts of lofty magnanimity, he was a thorough savage, with a wider range of intellect than those around him, but sharing all their passions and prejudices, their fierceness and treachery. Yet his faults were the faults of his race; and they cannot eclipse his nobler qualities, the great powers and heroic virtues of his mind. His memory is still cherished among the remnants of many Algonquin tribes; and the celebrated Tecumseh adopted him for his model, proving himself no unworthy imitator.

CHAPTER XII

THE SHAWNEES AND THE MIAMIS

BEFORE continuing the history of the border wars in the region north of the Ohio, a brief account will be given of the Shawnees, who played such an important rôle in the struggles in this western region that followed the breaking-out of the Revolutionary War.

As has been heretofore stated, the region now embraced in the state of Ohio was practically uninhabited subsequent to the destruction of the Eries in 1655 until after the commencement of the eighteenth century. In the early part of the latter century, a portion of the Wyandots extended their settlements into the northwestern part of Ohio, the Miamis pushed their borders into the western portion, and the Shawnees settled in the Scioto valley. The Delawares, as already stated, moved to the valley of the Muskingum; and detachments of the Five Nations, chiefly Senecas, settled in the northern and eastern borders.

The history of the Shawnees, until their removal to Ohio, is involved in considerable uncertainty, as they resided at some distance from the routes usually traversed by the French traders and explorers, so far as these have been made known. Their removal to Ohio is supposed to have taken place about 1750, though it is possible they had begun to settle on the Scioto before that date.

Parkman says: "From various scattered notices, we may gather that at an early period they occupied the valley of the

Ohio; that, becoming embroiled with the Five Nations, they shared the defeat of the Andastes, and about the year 1672 fled to escape destruction." This opinion is based chiefly on the fact that the records show that they were fighting with the Iroquois on the Ohio in 1672, and were next heard of on Cumberland River. However, the fact that they were fighting the Iroquois on Ohio River is no more proof in itself that they resided there than that this region was the home of the Iroquois. It is probable that the Shawnees were then living in their historic seat on Cumberland River, near the present site of Nashville, Tennessee, and that those who met the Iroquois were war parties. It is possible, judging from an older tradition, that at a very early date, while on their way southward to the Cumberland, they stopped for a time on the Miami.

Ramsey, who seems to have derived his information from original sources, gives the following data bearing on the subject. The Cherokees had a tradition that when they crossed the Alleghanies to the west—that is, from the Carolina side—they found the Shawnees at war with the Creeks. This must refer to a very early date, as the Cherokees had towns on the west side of the mountains at the earliest notice the whites had of that region; but this tradition does not indicate the habitat of the Shawnees, though it states that there were no Indians residing at that time in east Tennessee except a Creek settlement on the Hiawassee. We are informed by the same author that General Robertson, who was familiar with the Indians of Tennessee, learned from them that the Shawnees occupied the country from Tennessee River to where Nashville now stands and north of the Cumberland as early as 1665. "M. Charleville, a French trader from Crozer's colony at New Orleans, came, in 1714, among the Shawnees then inhabiting the country on the Cumberland River, and traded with them. His store was built on a mound near the present site of Nashville." As stated in Chapter V., the Cherokees, uniting with the Chickasaws, made war

upon this tribe and finally drove them from their home in Tennessee, compelling them to seek refuge elsewhere. This, which was the final breaking-up of their settlement at this point, must have occurred, according to the history of the Cherokees, subsequent to the Yamasi war of 1715. That it took place previous to 1750 is evident from the fact that Christopher Gist, in his journey down the Ohio in that year, found them, or a large part of them, settled on the Scioto.

Tracing back the history of the tribe by means of incidental notices, we find that they were driven from their Tennessee home about the year 1740. And by similar data we are justified in concluding that they were residing in this historic seat previous to 1672.

The notice of them which carries back their history to the most remote era indicated—could it be accepted—is that by Nicolas Perrot in his *Mémoire*, written probably between 1700 and 1718. In this he says, evidently basing the statement on a tradition he had received from the Indians, that the Iroquois, unable to resist the attacks of the Algonquins, fled to the shores of Lake Erie, where the Shawnees—or Chaouanons, as the French named them—lived, who waged war against them and drove them back to the shores of Lake Ontario. "After warring with them and their allies for a time, the Iroquois finally chased them toward Carolina, where, or in the vicinity, they have ever since remained." If there be any truth in this tradition, which is not probable, it must apply to a period long anterior to 1672, the date assigned by Parkman to their expulsion from Ohio. R. P. J. Tailhan, editor of Perrot's *Mémoire*, in his comment on this passage, assigns this movement of the Iroquois to the latter half of the sixteenth century, though he expresses the opinion that the Shawnees were inhabiting the valley of the Ohio as late as 1673. Although the first part of this statement appears to be mythical and is inconsistent with known facts, and would, if accepted, necessitate a war of a hundred years or more

between the Iroquois and Shawnees, yet it has again and again been repeated by subsequent writers.

There is a statement in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1662 which, although containing some exaggerations, bears internal indications of substantial correctness. Lallemand, then at Montreal, writes as follows regarding the war expeditions of the preceding year: "Turning a little more to the west, than towards the south, another band of Iroquois sought a nation that lives four hundred leagues from this place, whose only crime is, they are not Iroquois. This nation they call *Ontoagaunha*, which means, people who do not know how to talk, on account of the corrupted Algonquin used by them. If we believe the Iroquois who returned, and the captives whom they brought, that is a country which, free from the rigor of our winters, enjoys a climate always temperate, a perpetual spring and autumn. The soil is so fertile, we could almost speak of it as the Israelite spies described the Promised Land. Indian corn there grows to such a size that one might take it for trees; it bears ears two feet long, with grains like grapes. The elk and beaver being inhabitants of cold countries are not found there. But, instead, deer, buffaloes, wild boars, and the large animals, which we are not acquainted with, fill the beautiful forests, that are like orchards, most of the trees being fruit trees. The woods abound with every variety of gay plumage, especially little parroquets, which are so numerous that we have seen some of the Iroquois return thence with scarfs and girdles made of them. Serpents are found there, six feet long, but harmless. The men, however, are not so harmless, for they have a poison, with which they infect the springs, and even rivers, so skilfully, that the water loses none of its clearness, though entirely polluted. Their villages lie along a fine river that empties into a great lake, as they call the sea, where they have commerce with Europeans, who worship God as we do, use rosaries, and have bells to summon to prayers. From their account we suppose these Europeans are Spaniards."

That the Ontoagaunha Indians are identical with the Chaouanons, or Shawnees, is expressly stated in the *Relation* of 1672. This account, therefore, refers to the Shawnees; and, although there is some exaggeration, it is apparent that it must apply to a region south of the Ohio or possibly to the extreme lower part of that river; that it does not apply to the upper Ohio, or to a prairie section, is evident. What Europeans they had intercourse with, or whether only through intermediate tribes, is unknown; moreover, the reference to "rosaries" and "bells to summon to prayers" must be taken with some grains of allowance. Colonel M. Force, in his paper on the Indians of Ohio, places the Shawnees, at the time of this expedition of the Iroquois, on the Cumberland.

The statement by Father Marquette is quite consistent with that of Father Lallemant. He says that while he was at La Pointe, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, in 1670, he met there a party of Illinois. He was informed by them that they were visited the preceding summer [1669] "by a nation whom they call Chaouanons, who live to the east-southeast of their country. The young man who teaches me the Illinois language saw them, and says they had glass beads, which proves that they have communication with Europeans. They had made a journey of thirty days to reach the country of the Illinois." The direction of the Shawnee towns from the Illinois, who at this time were on or near Illinois River, would have been about the same, whether located on the lower Ohio or on the Cumberland, but the distance to the lower Ohio would not have justified the time given for the journey from one to the other, even allowing for a large error in the estimate. The direction given, and distance estimated by days' journey, would, it must be admitted, agree with the supposition that the tribe was then located on the upper Ohio; but this conclusion would be wholly inconsistent with the statement by Father Lallemant in the *Relation* of 1662. The assumption that the tribe was then living on the Cumberland is the only one

consistent with these two apparently reliable statements, after making due allowance for the disposition on the part of the Indians who gave the information to the two missionaries to somewhat overdraw their pictures.

The riddle regarding the location of this mysterious people was solved by the French by the close of the seventeenth century. Jacques Gravier, in the account of his passage down the Mississippi in 1700, remarks in regard to the Ouabache [lower Ohio]: "It has three branches: one coming from the northwest [north], and flowing behind the country of the Oumiamis [Miamis], is called by us the St. Joseph, but by the savages Oubashie; the second comes from the country of the Iroquois, and this is called the Ohio; the third, on which the Chaouanoua live, comes from the south-south-east. The stream formed by the junction of these three flows into the Mississippi, under the name Oubache." Here the Shawnees are located, on the Cumberland, where it is probable they had their tribal home during all the historic period previous to their expulsion therefrom about 1740.

The opposite view, that is, that the pristine home of the tribe was in Ohio, has been adopted by the majority, in fact by nearly all the modern writers, but they generally give it no higher sanction than as "very probable." That the first part of the tradition given by Perrot, which represents the Iroquois as flying before the Algonquins to the shores of Lake Erie and being driven back by the Shawnees to Lake Ontario at some very distant date, will be rejected by historians of the present day is more than probable. The conclusion must therefore be based upon other evidence. This appears to be found in the fact that the Iroquois were at war with the Shawnees from 1662 to 1672, and that this warring was, in part, along Ohio River. The statement by Father Marquette that the Shawnees were "not at all war-like" is known, from the subsequent history of the tribe, to be incorrect. That the Iroquois, who had come into possession of firearms, could easily defeat them in 1662—apparently in their southern home and before they had

received such arms—is no doubt true, but this is no evidence of their lack of courage. The frequent presence of Shawnee parties on the Ohio is accounted for, not only by the general custom of Indians to wander to distant points in search of game or booty, but also, in this case, by their habit of going to the region of Kanawha River for the purpose of making salt. Moreover, it is clear from the records that the Iroquois were still warring with them in 1692 and 1694, while, according to all authorities, their tribal home was on the Cumberland.

Although the attempt has been made in the preceding remarks to locate the seat of the Shawnees during the years preceding their defeat and dispersion by the Cherokees and Chickasaws, about 1740, their history would be incomplete without allusion to fragments which, during this time, had left the parental home and wandered off to seek more satisfactory quarters. A party was induced by La Salle [1680–1681] to remove to Illinois and settle near his fort [St. Louis]. Joliet, writing of his last voyage, says they have been there only since they were drawn thither by M. de La Salle.

Some Munsees, returning in 1692 from a visit to the Shawnees, brought a number of the tribe with them, who asked permission of the authorities to settle among the former. This was allowed by the council on condition that they should first make peace with the Five Nations; which was done, and the migration took place in 1694. The number of this migration is given as three hundred by one authority, and as one thousand by another; whatever the true number may have been, it is known that they were living in the forks of Delaware River in 1733. A portion of the tribe, which had been living for a number of years on the upper Savannah River, removed, about 1700, to Pennsylvania and settled near the Conestogas, then living in what is now Lancaster County. These are the Indians to whom William Penn in his treaty of 1701 applied the name "Potomac Indians."

Another statement in regard to the early movements of the Shawnees, difficult to account for, is made by M. Pericault. He says that in 1714, falling in with a party of Taensas Indians, near the Natches, he took them with him to Mobile, where Bienville, then Governor of Louisiana, gave them the place formerly occupied by the Chaouanons and Taouatches, near the fort. Nothing further in regard to this band is known; it is probable, however, that they returned to the valley of the Cumberland.

There appears to have been a Shawnee settlement about the locality of the present Winchester, West Virginia, probably between 1700 and 1730. This band must have removed from this locality before 1733, when the whites began to settle there. It is probable they went to the Ohio.

Having, so far, devoted attention to the question of the locality of the tribe and its offshoots, we turn now to what we may term the active history of the Shawnees. Of this there are but scattering and brief notices previous to 1750. That they were in almost constant warfare with the Iroquois from 1662 to the close of the seventeenth century is evident from the data presented. Yet it is stated on French authority that a hundred warriors of this tribe were in company with the Iroquois who made an attack on the Illinois Indians in 1680. About a year later, a body of the same tribe formed, as before stated, a settlement near the Illinois, and was induced by La Salle to enter into an alliance with the Illinois, Miamis, and Mascoutens for common defence against the Iroquois. Again, we find a party of them in 1699, in connection with the Chickasaws, attacking the Cahokia Indians,—a little tribe belonging to the Illinois group,—living on the east bank of the Mississippi, opposite the site of St. Louis. Although the Shawnees who settled on Delaware River about the close of the seventeenth century had made peace with the Iroquois and entered into friendly relations with the English, the main body of the tribe, which removed to the Scioto valley, adhered to the French interest.

In 1731, they—or one division of the tribe—sent delegates to Montreal to inquire of the Governor of Canada where he wished to locate them, which was probably the first step toward the removal to Ohio. It seems from statements in the *New York Colonial History* that a part of these Indians had already settled on Alleghany River, a short distance above Pittsburg. This band was known as “Char-tier’s tribe,” from the name of their chief. These Shawnees were at this time evidently undecided whether they should continue in the French interest or take sides with the English. The visit to Montreal to inquire of the governor where they should locate—meaning, in the Ohio region—was an acknowledgment of French sovereignty over that region.

The criminal blunder of the English colonies in failing to cultivate the friendship of the Shawnee tribe and of the Delawares cost them many precious lives, which might have been saved had the advice of Sir William Johnson and George Croghan been promptly followed. Immediately after the expulsion of the tribe from its Cumberland home by the Cherokees and Chickasaws, it appears to have been split for a time into three groups before finally settling down on the Scioto. One of these groups—the two bands on the Delaware—was pledged to the English and on terms of friendship with the Iroquois.

The second group was the band on Alleghany River, which seems to have been wavering at this time between the French and the English. The third group consisted of the first settlers on the Scioto, who located their village at the mouth of the river. It was probably this band or party that sent delegates to the Governor of Canada, but where the division was located at that time is uncertain. Most of the scattered fragments ultimately drifted to this locality.

When the French began to move down the Ohio in 1753, the Indians, especially the Senecas, Cayugas, and Shawnees, looked upon this action with much distrust, as they were opposed to their building forts on this river,

though they had expressed a willingness for the English to do so. The reason for this, so far as the Shawnees were concerned, was not that they had greater love for the English than for the French, for the opposite was probably true, but because trade was more profitable with the former. When the French obtained possession of the fort at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, which they named Du Quesne, the vacillating Shawnees, desirous of being on the winning side, threw their force to the French interest, and formed part of the army that defeated General Braddock in 1755. It is supposed to have been a chief of this tribe, who, observing Colonel Washington in the thickest of the fight unscathed by the shower of bullets which were levelling his companions on every side, singled him out as the target for his rifle, and bade other warriors do the same. The disastrous defeat of the English on this occasion was due in part to the Shawnee warriors.

The chief assailants of Fort Pitt during Pontiac's war were Shawnees and Delawares, and the same Indians formed the horde which played such sad havoc at Bushy Run. Their defeat in this action, though the damage inflicted upon the English was severe, served to cool the ardor of the Shawnees in the effort to drive the white settlers from the country. But, ever restless unless in the turmoil of war, they decided to turn their arms against the Creeks who had remained faithful to the English. However, this expedition proved a failure.

The time for a change in the policy of the Indians had arrived. The French had yielded up their American possessions to the English; Pontiac's war was at an end; and Colonel Bouquet was marching through Ohio with an army of sufficient strength to enforce his demands. Peace with the colonies or the abandonment of their country was their only hope of salvation. A council with Bouquet was asked for by the Indians, which request was granted; but this officer, knowing well the Indian character, determined to hold it on the Muskingum, in the heart of their country.

Being notified by the Indians that their warriors were encamped a few miles distant and ready to enter into negotiations, he appointed the meeting for the following day, October 17, 1764, but it was delayed by the weather until the 20th. In his address on this occasion, scorning the terms "fathers" and "brothers," he boldly charged them with the crimes they had been guilty of, and concluded by giving them twelve days to deliver the white prisoners they held, requiring hostages in the meantime for security.

This speech fell with telling effect upon his auditors; they saw they had now to deal with one determined to enforce his demands to the utmost particular. Within the specified time most of the prisoners were brought to the camp, and hostages were retained until the remaining ones were delivered. At the closing meeting, after the stipulations, so far as then possible, had been carried out, Bouquet informed them that he must refer them to Sir William Johnson as the only one authorized to make treaties. As an assurance that this would be done, he required that hostages should be left in his hands. The engagements were faithfully carried out, and the treaty concluded. Here the curtain drops on the last scene of this bloody drama, and now we leave for a time the direct history of the Shawnees and follow up the story of the border wars in the Ohio valley.

Although by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, the Ohio and Alleghany Rivers were made the dividing line between the territories of the whites and the Indians, it was but a short while before the westward tide of white emigration broke over this barrier and began the formation of settlements in the Indian territory. Petty acts of hostility on the part of both races occurred. About this time the short outbreak known as "Cresap's" or "Dunmore's" war occurred, brought on by the unwarranted and unjustifiable action of the white settlers. It was during this outbreak that the family or relations of Logan, a friendly Indian, were slain. In order to quell these disturbances, which

had aroused the Indians to open warfare, two large bodies of troops were raised in Virginia—one led by General Andrew Lewis, and the other by Lord Dunmore. The former was to move down the Kanawha to its junction with the Ohio; and the latter, striking the Ohio higher up, was to move down it to the same point. It was the intention of Dunmore to march thence with the whole force against the Shawnee villages on the Scioto. However, this plan was changed by the unexpected arrival of a host of Indians at the mouth of the Kanawha, where General Lewis had arrived with his fifteen hundred men and was awaiting the appearance of Lord Dunmore's troops.

The sudden appearance of this force of Delaware, Iroquois, Wyandot, and Shawnee warriors, under their most noted chiefs, among whom were Logan and Cornstalk, compelled General Lewis and his army to battle for their lives before the arrival of their compatriots. The battle, in which the Indians were led by Cornstalk, the Shawnee chief, was long and fierce, lasting the entire day. The fate of the Virginians was more than once in doubt; but at the most critical moment, when hard pressed, the arrival of the division under Colonel Field saved the day. It was believed that the Indians in this engagement considerably outnumbered the whites. The loss on the side of the latter was seventy-five killed and one hundred and forty wounded. Among the slain were Colonel Lewis, a brother of the general, Colonel Field, and six captains.

While General Lewis, anxious to avenge the death of his brother and the other officers, was preparing to continue his march to the Shawnee villages, he received word from Lord Dunmore that a treaty of peace had been made with the Indians, who met him on his way to the Scioto.

It was while the articles of this treaty were being discussed that Logan is supposed to have delivered his famous and oft-quoted speech, though he was not at the conference, and the speech was written down from his dictation. This chief was the son of Shikillemus, a noted warrior

of the Cayuga nation, whose residence was at Shamokin. Logan is represented by Heckewelder as a man of talents and a friend of the whites. In the year 1774, a number of his friends, including his sister and niece, were sacrificed by the indiscriminate vengeance of a party of whites under the command, as he supposed, of Captain Michael Cresap, but in reality led by one Greathouse. The immediate cause of the outrage was the report that a number of whites, who were looking for a place to begin a settlement, had been killed by the Indians. The destruction of the Indian village,—Bulltown on the Little Kanawha,—which had taken place in 1772, was probably one of the items in the list of Indian charges. However, the encroachment of the whites on their lands was doubtless the primary cause of their resentment. We close the account of this outbreak with a brief quotation from Joseph Pritts's *Border Life*, regarding Logan's life and speech:

Whether this be really the speech of Logan, or was put in his mouth by the ingenuity of some poetic fancy, I shall not pretend to decide. It is certainly characterized by the laconic and figurative style of the Indians. I cannot, however, see in it that "tender sentiment" and "sublime morality" which the historians of Virginia say it possesses. Certainly there is nothing either tender or sublime in the declaration of savage vengeance, and the confession of having glutted himself with the blood of his enemies. The end of this bloody warrior corresponded with his life. After "having killed many and glutted himself with blood," he went to Detroit, on his return from which place he was murdered. After the return of peace had compelled Logan to forbear the use of the tomahawk and the hatchet, the renowned warrior had become an abandoned sot. The immoderate use of brandy had stupefied his mental powers, and mingled with the ferocity of the savage, the delirious ravings of the drunkard.

The war of the Revolution was to some extent a puzzle to the Indians, who could not understand why Englishmen should be fighting against those of their own lineage. We have seen the result among the Six Nations, some of whom became the friends of one party and some the friends of the other. Although the border and western Indians were

disposed to side with the English, the severe chastisement inflicted on the Iroquois by General Sullivan, and the march by Colonel Broadhead up Alleghany River against the Mingoes and Munsees, had the result of bringing the Delawares, Wyandots, and part of the Shawnees to Fort Pitt on a treaty of peace in 1779. During the summer an expedition was sent against the Shawnees who had not joined in the peace treaty, but it failed to accomplish the purpose intended.

One of the most brutal outrages that occurred during this time of increasing hostility between the races was the slaughter, by the whites under Colonel Williamson, of the unresisting Christian Indians of Gnadenhütten in 1782. But we refrain from repeating the sickening details. Forty men, twenty-two women, and thirty-two children were ruthlessly slain. During the same year, another expedition was organized, to invade the Moravian Delawares and the Wyandots on the Sandusky. The commander was Colonel William Crawford. No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The number of troops in this expedition amounted to nearly five hundred. When they reached the Sandusky they found the towns deserted, but the Indians, not far distant, were on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body, and nearly all who did so perished. Crawford was taken prisoner and burned at the stake. The crime he would have committed was expiated in full and overflowing measure before it had been accomplished. The miscreant and doubly savage white man—Simon Girty—was a willing witness of this horrid scene.

The storm which had been brewing now burst upon the exposed settlements. Investigation showed that between the years 1783 and October, 1790, the Indians had killed, wounded, and taken prisoners fully fifteen hundred persons, including men, women, and children, besides stealing upward of two thousand horses and other property.

General Harmar was now [1790] despatched against the hostile savages. He advanced into their country from Fort Washington, on the site of Cincinnati. The Indians everywhere fled on the approach of the army, burning their own villages as they receded. The expedition was a complete failure. General Arthur St. Clair succeeded Harmar. He began his march from the same point, with a force of two thousand men, but only to return in a short time defeated in battle, leaving six hundred and thirty-one dead on the field. Seven of his cannon, two hundred oxen, and many horses were captured, but no prisoners were taken. Simon Girty was one of the active participants on the side of the Indians in this battle.

The number of Indians in this engagement was estimated at four thousand. They were led by a remarkable personage—a Missisauga chief, who had been in the British service during the Revolutionary War. He planned and conducted the attack in his own way, though contrary to the advice of the other chiefs, and checked the pursuit, saying they had "killed enough Americans." His costume must have given him a picturesque appearance. Fully six feet in height, he wore Indian hose and moccasins, a blue petticoat that came halfway down his thighs, and a European waistcoat and surtout. His head was bound with a kind of cap or headdress reaching halfway down his back, and almost covered with plain silver brooches, to the number of more than two hundred. Each ear was adorned with two rings, the upper part of each being formed of three silver medals about the size of a dollar. The lower portion was formed of silver coins the size of a quarter-dollar, hanging down quite a foot, besides which he wore three nose jewels. He was of such a morose disposition that he was disliked by all his associate chiefs; but they knew he understood the art of war better than any of them, and so gave him full charge.

The next officer to be placed in command of an expedition against the hostile natives was General Anthony

Wayne. Like General Grant, he had strong faith in numbers and ample preparations, and hence delayed his march until he was able to start with four thousand fully equipped men. Moving with great caution, and taking every care to avoid surprise, he reached St. Mary's on the 2d of August, 1794, where he built Fort Adams and garrisoned it. He then crossed the Auglaize and marched down it, through deserted villages, to the Maumee, where he built Fort Defiance. Following down the latter stream to the head of the rapids, he there erected Fort Deposit. When he began preparations, he sent Colonel Hardin and Major Truman to the Indians with overtures of peace, but both were treacherously murdered. Even after this, when a battle was imminent, he again sought to win peace by treaty; but the Indians, taking this course as a proof of timidity, returned such a haughty reply by his commissioners that he determined to delay the blow no longer.

The battle, though obstinately maintained for a time by the Indians, was a complete victory for General Wayne's forces. The panic-stricken savages were chased with great slaughter to the British fort at Maumee, several miles distant. The commander of this post had promised the Indians, in case of defeat, to open the gates and give them protection. But this was not done; and while the hordes huddled about the gates, clamoring for admission, they were cut down without mercy. The blow was a decisive one. The formidable confederation of tribes was overthrown so utterly that they did not recover for twenty years.

Nothing being left on the battle ground to destroy, General Wayne returned to Auglaize and laid waste all the Indian towns and fields within fifty miles of the river. He gave the savages to understand that their only alternative was peace or destruction. On the 3d of August, 1795, eleven hundred chiefs and warriors met the United States commissioners at Fort Greenville, where a treaty of peace was signed. This was, perhaps, the most important treaty ever made between the United States and Indians regarding

the cession of lands, and moved the dividing line one long step further toward the west.

The Indians who signed this treaty represented the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa [Ojibwa], Potawatomi, Miami, Eel River, Wea, Piankishaw, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia tribes.

For fifteen years after the treaty there was comparative quiet on the border, and consequently the white settlements spread rapidly toward the west. During this time a number of treaties were made, by which the Indians ceded large areas in Indiana and Illinois to the United States. Although these cessions were not the result of force and were made upon satisfactory consideration, yet many of the leading Indians began to show uneasiness at the encroachments of the whites and the prospect of being forced westward. Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, and his brother Ellskwatawa were the leaders in the resistance against the invasion by the whites. Tecumseh, who was one of the most extraordinary characters among the Indians of our country, is thus described by Dr. Trumbull in his *Indian Wars*:

He was the most extraordinary Indian that ever appeared in history. He would have been a great man in any age or nation. Independent, of the most consummate courage and skill as a warrior, and with all the characteristic acuteness of his race, he was endowed by nature with the attributes of mind necessary for great political combinations. His acute understanding, very early in life, informed him that his countrymen had lost their importance; that they were gradually yielding to the whites, who were acquiring an imposing influence over them. Instigated by these considerations, and perhaps by his natural ferocity and attachment to war, he became a decided enemy to the whites, and imbibed an invincible determination (he surrendered it with his life) to regain for his country the proud independence she had lost. For a number of years he was foremost in every act of hostility committed against those he conceived the oppressors of his countrymen, and was equally remarkable for intrepidity as skill in many combats that took place under his banner. Aware, at length, of the extent, number, and power of the United States, he became fully convinced of the futility of any single nation of red men attempting to cope with them. He formed, therefore, the grand scheme of uniting all the tribes east of the Mississippi into hostility against the United States. This was a field

worthy of his great and commanding genius. He commenced in the year 1809; and in the execution of his project, he displayed an unequaled adroitness, eloquence, and courage. He insinuated himself into every tribe from Michillimackinack to Georgia, and was invariably successful in his attempts to bring them over to his views.

Tecumseh and his brother, known as "the Prophet," with other leading men, formed a union of the tribes at a council at Greenville, by which it was intended to prevent the whites from making further settlements upon their lands. It appears that the objects Tecumseh and his brother had in view were: first, the reformation of the tribes, whose habits and customs unfitted them for intelligent efforts; and secondly, to bring about such a union of the tribes as would make the purchase of their lands by the United States impossible, and would at the same time give to the Indians a formidable strength that would receive national respect; in other words, an Iroquois League on an extended scale.

In their attempt to awaken the Indian spirit to an appreciation and approval of the great project, they began with the praiseworthy effort of reforming the Indians from their habits of intemperance, in which it is said they made considerable progress among the Indians along the lakes.

A summary of results, chiefly as a continuation of Shawnee history, suffices to show the steps that led to the war incited by Tecumseh. Governor Harrison agreed to hold a council with Tecumseh at Vincennes in August, 1810. Nothing was effected thereby except that the breach was widened. Governor Harrison, now aware that a battle was close at hand, determined it should take place in the heart of Tecumseh's stronghold, his headquarters being at Tippecanoe, though Tecumseh was absent at the time among the southern Indians. The Indians, who were led by "the Prophet," were defeated in the battle which occurred on November 7, 1811. Although not present, the defeat at Tippecanoe broke Tecumseh's power; his plans were overthrown, and his dream of a grand confederacy passed away forever.

The war of 1812 between the English and the United States having commenced, the disappointed chieftain cast his lot with the former. As his history now merges into that of the national conflict, it only remains for us to record his death, which occurred while he was fighting bravely in the battle of the Thames, his Indians bearing the brunt of the onset, while Procter, the English leader, was saving himself by cowardly flight. Thus ended the career of the most noted Indian chief who has figured in the history of our country; and with his death ends the story of the border wars of the Ohio valley.

A few more items in regard to the Shawnees remain to be added before turning to the history of other tribes.

About 1745, or shortly previous thereto, a band of the tribe, numbering, as it is stated, four hundred and fifty individuals, removed to "New Spain" [Mexico]. Henry Harvey expresses the opinion, in his *History of the Shawnee Indians*, that this band was the one found wandering "north of the head-waters of Mobile River." Another party had moved, about the same time, to a tract of land on the west side of the Mississippi near Cape Girardeau, which had been given them by Carondelet, the Spanish governor. This land was ceded to the United States in 1825, and in lieu thereof a tract was granted them in Kansas. Ultimately, most of the tribe were removed to Indian Territory.

Another tribe which took part in most of the leading events of the border warfare in the Ohio valley was that known usually under the name Miami, though the early English writers generally mention these Indians as the "Twightwees." The French authors name as divisions of this tribe or confederacy, the Piankishaws, Weas, Atchatchakangouens, Kilatikas, Mongakoukias, and Pepikokias. Of these, the first two were in later years recognized as distinct tribes; but the others ceased to be known as divisions, and their names dropped from history.

The earliest recorded notice of these Indians is found in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1658, where they are mentioned,

under the name "Oumamik," as residing at that time near Green Bay, Wisconsin. The first time the French came into actual contact with them was when Perrot, the persevering explorer, visited them in 1669 and 1670. They were then living about the headwaters of Fox River. In 1671, a part, at least, of the tribe was living with the Mascoutens in a palisaded village not far from the same locality. Soon after this date they began to withdraw from the Mascoutens and move eastward, forming settlements at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan and on Kalamazoo River in Michigan. It is at this time that the Ojibwa offshoot, or Weas, as they were designated in later years, come into notice, and it was this little tribe that had a village on the site of Chicago at the time of Marquette's visit. The Miamis proper had a settlement at the same time near by on St. Joseph River, where La Salle found them.

Judging by the extent of country over which this tribe was spread a few years later, it is safe to assume that those found located in Wisconsin at the first contact with the whites formed but a portion of the tribe, and that other portions were already in the region of northeastern Illinois and northern Indiana. As the tribe and its allies, the Piankeshaws and Weas, were found at a later date located on the Wabash, in Indiana, and in northwestern Ohio, it seems that they had in historic times moved from their more northwestern localities, though it is possible, indeed probable, that a part of the tribe had never lived west of Michigan. As it appears that all the northern Algonquin tribes we have mentioned, so far as their early migrations can be traced, have entered the United States territory from the north side of the lakes, it is probable the Miamis came from the same region. Most likely they entered first into the lower Michigan peninsula, and, in whole or in part, moved west into Wisconsin, as did the Sauks, through pressure from other more eastern tribes. Later, as they increased in numbers and strength, they gradually moved toward the east.

When Vincennes was sent by Governor Vaudreville, in 1705, on a mission to the tribe, they were found principally occupying the territory northwest of the upper Wabash. There was, at least for a time, a Miami village at Detroit, but of what extent is unknown. In 1711, they, including the Weas, were collected chiefly in three villages,—one on the St. Joseph, one on the Wabash, and one on the Maumee. Pressed by the Potawatomes and Kickapoos, they abandoned the country northwest of the Wabash, the Weas and Piankishaws settling on this river; while the Miamis proper moved east into Ohio, forming settlements on the Miami and perhaps as far east as the upper Scioto. They were occupying these localities in 1721 and continued in possession of them until the peace of 1763, when they retired to Indiana.

The Miamis took a prominent part in the contests in the Ohio valley up to the close of the War of 1812. At their first entrance into history, they were friends and allies of the French; and consequently were constantly at war with the Five Nations. Near the middle of the eighteenth century they made peace with the Five Nations, and with the English by the treaty of Lancaster in 1748. The Piankishaws and Weas, who were not included in this treaty, tendered through Croghan propositions of alliance with the English, which were unwisely rejected by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Soon after 1812, the Miamis began to dispose of their territory to the United States, and by 1827 most of it had been ceded and the larger portion of the tribe moved to Kansas, and thence into Indian Territory, where the remnant still resides. A part of the tribe, known as Meshingomesia's band, continued to reside on a reservation in Wabash County, Indiana, until 1872, when the land was parcelled out to the survivors, numbering about three hundred persons.

With this we close our sketch of the Indian history of the valley of the Ohio, the scene of some of the most stirring events in the conflicts of the native population with

the colonists in the later colonial days and with the people of the United States in the early years of the Republic. Pontiac and Tecumseh stand prominent in the Indian ranks as their heroes in the fierce and long-drawn-out contest. The baptism of the infant Republic was one of blood; but civilization, as must ever be the result, triumphed over savagery. The fertile area which once served only as hunting grounds for a scant savage people teems now with cities, towns, and busy, active, civilized life, supporting a population twenty-fold greater than the whole aboriginal dwellers in the United States in their palmyest days.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INDIANS OF THE OLD NORTHWEST

WE have adopted as the most appropriate title for the region treated of in this chapter, "The Old Northwest," the title given by Dr. B. A. Hinsdale to his historical sketch of the same region. All the tribes embraced in the territory indicated by our title—which includes also the section immediately north of Lake Superior—belong, with a single exception, to the Algonquian stock, the principal ones being the Chippewa, Cree, Menominee, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Wea, and Miami. The single exception is the Winnebago tribe, a branch of the Siouan family. South of these, but more or less connected with them historically, were the Mascouten, Kickapoo, and Illinois tribes, all of Algonquian lineage. All these, except the Crees and a part of the Chippewas, lay south of Lake Superior and east of the Mississippi, mostly in the present areas of Wisconsin and Illinois. All the Algonquin tribes about the upper lakes were, at an early day, frequently designated by the French as "Upper Algonquins"; and the name Ottawa, or its equivalent, was also applied in a general sense to include the same tribes.

Although the French on the lower St. Lawrence had received some information in regard to the Indians of the upper lake region prior to Jean Nicolet's visit in 1634 [or 1639], he was the first white man, so far as is positively known, to reach the borders of the present state

of Wisconsin. Having threaded his way along the water thoroughfare to the head of Green Bay, the first Indians of this interior region he encountered were the Winnebagoes, who spoke a language unknown to him, although he was well versed in various Algonquin dialects. It was through this visit that the French began to gain positive knowledge in regard to the natives and the geographical features of this northern section, the heart of the fur country. It is stated that he made a treaty of peace in the name of the French government with several tribes. This, however, could have been nothing more than a mere informal agreement.

From the year 1660 onward, the Catholic orders carried on the work of planting and maintaining missions among the tribes of this northwestern section. Among these faithful missionaries were the well-known pioneers Ménard, Allouez, Marquette, and Dablon. Some of the missions, as those at St. Xavier, Michel, Chequamegon, and Sault Ste. Marie, became important points in the early Indian history of that region. As friendly relations with the French existed from the first with all these tribes except the Sauks and Foxes, the missionaries were, in general, kindly treated.

At the time the French arrived at Sault Ste. Marie, the Indians residing there were bands or clans of Chippewas, to whom the French applied the general name "Saulteurs," or "Falls Indians." The three clans which had their headquarters here were the Noquets, the Chippewas [proper], whose name has since been applied to the entire tribe, and the Marames. At the time Allouez arrived in the country [1665], he found the Indians greatly excited in regard to a new war they were about to wage against the Sioux, the inveterate enemies of the Chippewas. A general council was called at Chequamegon to consider the subject, in which Allouez was invited to take part. To this council came the Potawatomes from the shores of Lake Michigan; the Sauks and Foxes, and the Hurons; the Illinois from the south also came with their tale of former greatness and present

diminished state through wars with the Sioux on the one hand, and with the Iroquois on the other. The Sioux also were there from the west. The eloquence of the father, together with the "three words" and "three presents" from M. de Tracy, appears to have calmed the rising storm.

Five years later, M. Talon, then Intendant of New France, commissioned Saint-Lusson to take formal possession, in the name of the King of France, of all the northwest country. For this purpose Perrot was directed to notify the tribes to convene at Sault Ste. Marie the following season. The meeting took place in May and June, 1671, and the act of taking possession on June 14th of that year, when, according to the commissioner's statement, fourteen tribes were represented. The ceremony began with an address by Allouez, in Algonquin, in praise of the mighty king of the French; Saint-Lusson followed with a brief speech, closing his remarks by inquiring whether all present consented to what he proposed. When this was repeated in Algonquin by Allouez, the Indians, we are informed, first replied by presents and then by loud cries of "Long live the king." The simple natives were, no doubt, highly entertained by the spectacle and the chanting, and above all by the presents given them, but it is not at all likely that they understood the signification of the performance. De la Potherie states, in his *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, that a "procès verbal" was drawn up, and signed by all the "nations." There is, however, no evidence confirming this statement, nor do these signatures appear in the copy given by R. P. J. Tailhan in his notes to Perrot's *Mémoire*; neither is there anything in Saint-Lusson's statement of the proceedings to indicate that the signatures of the Indians were obtained.

The propositions to which Saint-Lusson alluded in his closing words are these: "In the name of the most high, most powerful, and most redoubtable monarch, Louis XIV. of name, most Christian king of France and Navarre, we take possession of said place, Sainte Marie du Sault, as also

of the Lakes Huron and Superior, the island Caientaton [Manitoulin] and of all other lands, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous to and adjacent here, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on one side by the seas of the North and West and on the other side by the sea of the South."

The reason for giving these details is that they constitute the only steps taken by the French to extinguish the Indians' rights to this vast extent of country; nevertheless, almost all the tribes remained their firm friends, and joined with them in their wars with the English. Aside from the burlesque character of these proceedings, so far as the rights of the natives were concerned, it does not appear that exceeding one-half of the tribes mentioned were represented at this conference. Charlevoix says expressly that the Illinois, Mascoutens, and Kickapoos, who are named in the list, were certainly not represented.

The tribes of this northwestern region were, with one exception, generally on friendly terms with the French, their history for the first few years after the formal taking possession by Saint-Lusson consisting, so far as their relations to the French are concerned, almost wholly of their connection with the missions established by the Jesuit priests. However, the individual tribes have histories which, though brief, are of interest; for here was the heart of that fur country whose trade the French colonists were so anxiously seeking.

The first Indians of this region with whom Nicolet, the pioneer explorer, came in contact were the Winnebagoes. This tribe, though seated in the midst of an Algonquin group, pertained to a different lineage, being ethnically related to the Siouan stock, though not to that great division of the family known as the Sioux, or Dakota. There are reasons, both linguistic and traditional, for believing that these Indians represent the original stem or another division of the family including the Otoe, Iowa, Missouri, Omaha, and some other tribes. As the evidence on which

this conclusion is based bears upon the early history of all these tribes, it may be briefly stated here.

The close linguistic relation of these tribes with or derivation from the Winnebagoes has been shown by such eminent linguists as Rev. J. Owen Dorsey and Dr. Horatio Hale. Albert Gallatin says: "The tradition of these five tribes, Iowas, Missouris, Otoes, Omahas, and Ponkas, is that at a distant epoch they, together with the Winnebagoes, came from the north; that the Winnebagoes stopped on the banks of Lake Michigan, while they, continuing their course southerly, crossed the Mississippi and occupied the seats in which they were found by the Europeans." Major S. H. Long gives, in the account of his *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, the tradition as he obtained it, thus: "The parent nation originally resided somewhere north of the great lakes. On moving southward, a large body seceded, staying on the shore of a lake; these became the Hochangara or Winnebagoes." Hotchungara, which signifies "ancient language or speech," is the name they apply to themselves.

This tradition, which seems to be strongly corroborated, implies that this tribe did not come to its historic seat from the west along the southern shore of Lake Superior, but around the eastern end, the same route, as will appear later, followed by the Chippewas.

When first encountered by the whites, the tribe resided in the vicinity of Green Bay, their settlements probably extending to the region about Lake Winnebago, as the map of 1681, accompanying Marquette's *Journal*, notes one of their villages near the north end of the lake. The earliest item of their history is the mention of a war between them and the Illinois Indians, about 1639, in which it is said they were well-nigh exterminated. This, however, must be a mistake, at least so far as the date is concerned, as it was at this time they were visited by Nicolet, who found them in a prosperous condition. If there be any truth in the statement, it probably refers to the defeat of a band.

When Allouez spent the winter of 1669-1670 at Green Bay, he found there about six hundred persons of the Sauk, Potawatomi, Fox, and Winnebago tribes gathered in one village near the mouth of Fox River, which is evidence of the friendly relations existing among these tribes at that time. They are also mentioned as one of the nations present at the formal "taking possession" by the French in 1671.

The traditions of these Indians, and also their later history, bear testimony to long-continued enmity toward and occasional wars with the Chippewas. Their written history, until the United States came into control, consists chiefly of casual notices of the part taken by them in the wars between the French and English and between the English and the Colonies. They formed part of the Indian force which aided the French at Fort Du Quesne in defeating General Braddock in 1755. Some of their warriors joined Pontiac in the war of 1763. They cast their lot with the English in the Revolutionary War, and, with other western Indians, took part in engagements under the orders of Major Campbell in the army commanded by General Burgoyne. It is stated that some of their men were with the Indians who were defeated by General Wayne in 1794, but the name of the tribe does not appear in any of the resulting treaties. Previous to this time, they removed from their seat near Green Bay to Wisconsin River. The exact date of this removal is not known, but it was after the Sauks and Foxes had left this river. Some of their warriors, belonging to a party which had joined Tecumseh, having been killed in battle, the tribe, which had not taken part in the war as a tribe, became greatly excited, and desirous of revenge. Several scalping parties were sent out to white settlements to retaliate. All that is known is that one of the parties, when returning, exhibited at Black Hawk's village the scalps it had taken.

In the war of 1812 the Winnebagoes took part with the English, and helped to defeat Major Croghan at Michilimackinac, Colonel Dudley at the rapids of the Miami, and

General Winchester at River Raisin. One hundred and fifty of their warriors joined in the attack on Fort Stevenson, Lower Sandusky, defended at that time by Major Croghan. The defeat of the attacking allies was in this instance so complete that the Indians, disappointed and crestfallen, did not stop to demand the presents promised by the English, but started at once for home by way of Fort Dearborn. Not more than half of those who left their homes ever reached them again. They promised to remain neutral in the Black Hawk war, but were constantly giving clandestine aid to the Sauks and Foxes, and a war party openly assisted them in one or two battles. Since then they have been uniformly peaceable.

They have been unfortunate in their attempts to find a resting place secure against the tide of westward-moving civilization. By treaties made in 1825 and 1832, they ceded all their lands south of Wisconsin and Fox Rivers for a reservation on the west side of the Mississippi above the upper Iowa River. In 1837, they relinquished the title to their old country in Wisconsin, and in 1840 removed to their reservation in Iowa, though a part of the tribe had to be transferred by United States soldiers. In 1846, they surrendered their Iowa reservation for another in Minnesota. In 1853, they were removed to Crow River, and in 1856 to Blue Earth, Minnesota. At the breaking out of the Sioux war in 1862, the people of Minnesota demanded their removal, in consequence of which they were landed at Crow Creek, on Missouri River; but, suffering from sickness, they fled to the Omaha reserve, only twelve hundred out of the two thousand remaining when the latter place was reached. They were then assigned a new reservation on the Omaha lands.

When the tribe was removed from its original seat, many of its members who had taken up farms were allowed to remain. Their numbers were estimated in 1843 at 4,500. In 1867, there were 1,750 on the Nebraska reservation, and 700 in Wisconsin. In 1886, there were only 1,222

in Nebraska, but the number in Wisconsin had increased to 930.

The Chippewas, at the time of their greatest numerical strength, formed one of the largest tribes north of Mexico. Their former range was along the northern shores of Lakes Superior and Huron, and the southern shores of Lake Superior. Although a strong and populous tribe, they have not played a prominent rôle in the history of the Northwest, owing to their remoteness from the frontier during the Indian wars.

The tradition of this people in regard to their entrance into the region where they were first found by the whites, so far as it can be accepted, finds them at Sault Ste. Marie, with a faint remembrance of having come from the shores of a great salt sea, undoubtedly Hudson's Bay.

As the first knowledge obtained by the French of these Indians related to those residing at the Falls of St. Mary, they gave them the name "Saulteurs," or "Falls Indians." They belong, as already stated, to the Algonquian stock, and were formerly divided into several subtribes, which, however, are seldom mentioned in history, the names "Chippewas," or its equivalent "Ojibwas," and "Saulteurs" being usually applied without reference to the subdivisions. The further account of them received by the French located them along the south side of Lake Superior, and speaks of them as hunters and fishers, and as cultivating maize to a limited extent. According to La Potherie (*Hist. Amer.*) after the defeat of the Hurons by the Iroquois, the Chippewas and Missisaugas—a subtribe of the Chippewas—retired further inland. This, however, if correct, can refer only to such bands as were located on the lake shore, or probably only to the Missisaugas who were located at the north end of Lake Huron. At an early date, probably long previous to that mentioned above, contentions arose between the Chippewas and Sioux in regard to their territorial rights, which resulted in a state of hostility that continued for many years, and, notwithstanding the peace agreements between

them, would, ever and anon, even down to comparatively recent times, show itself in attacks and reprisals.

One of the first items in the history of the Chippewas is the notice of their attack, in connection with other Indians, upon a party of Iroquois in 1660, most of the latter being slain. This took place in the vicinity of Sault Ste. Marie, whither the Iroquois had made their way in pursuit of the fleeing Ottawas and Hurons. This defeat appears to have checked the Iroquois raids upon this section, as it seems that soon thereafter the fear of these raiders subsided in this region and the fugitives began to move back toward the east. In 1674, eleven Sioux braves arrived at Sault Ste. Marie, authorized as ambassadors of their nation to make peace with the adjacent tribes. These, notwithstanding the mission on which they came, and the warrant of safety accorded ambassadors, even among savages, were set upon and killed by the Chippewas.

The date when the people of this tribe first obtained fire-arms from the French is not given, but it must have been about the time of the above-mentioned incident. During the year 1679 the Chippewas and Sioux were on friendly terms, and Du Luth, who visited this region at this time, carried some of the former with him to the country of the latter. In 1695, the Chippewas and Sioux united in an attack upon the Foxes; the result, however, was different from their expectation, as they were sorely defeated by the latter; and it was only through the strenuous efforts of Perrot that the daughter of a Chippewa chief, who was taken captive, was saved from the flames; the other prisoners were also released. They formed part of the Indian troop which Du Luth led in 1684 to aid the French against the Iroquois; but the object of this expedition, as has been elsewhere stated, was in a large measure thwarted through the disgraceful treaty made by De la Barre.

About the commencement of the eighteenth century, war having again broken out between the Chippewas and Sioux, the former began to push the latter further and further

westward, and ere long, led by their noted chief Biauxwah, succeeded in driving them from the country about the headwaters of the Mississippi, carrying their conquests as far as Leech Lake. The Chippewas adhered to the French during their wars with the English, taking part in many of the battles fought during this period. A party from the tribe "fought in the ranks of Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham, when this ill-fated general and the heroic Wolfe received their death-wounds." Warren states, in his *History of the Ojibways*, that the "Ojibways of Lake Superior" did not join Pontiac in his war on the English. Nevertheless, Parkman (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*) asserts, on the faith of the Pontiac manuscript, that two bands of this tribe, one of two hundred warriors under chief Wasson, the other of one hundred and fifty under chief Sekahos, were present at the siege of Detroit.

While the Chippewas were thus pushing back the eastern Sioux, many of their people, chiefly of the Missisauga band, had made their way eastward into the peninsula between Lakes Huron and Erie, the country occupied by the Hurons before they were driven out by the Iroquois.

The Chippewas and Foxes were enemies from time immemorial, and many a bloody conflict was fought between them. Their last important battle was fought at St. Croix Falls in 1780, where the Chippewas defeated the combined forces of the Foxes and a band of Sioux, reducing the former to fifteen lodges, who were then incorporated with the Sauks and continued thereafter as one tribe. Some of the tribe took part with Tecumseh in his war with the States in 1811-1813; but the number must have been small, as the majority of the tribe were friends of the United States during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. They began to cede their lands to the United States soon after the treaty of peace with Great Britain, being parties to the treaties of Greenville [1795], Fort Industry [1805], and Detroit [1807]. They were also a party to the treaty

of St. Louis [1816], in which their claim to lands in Illinois formerly ceded by the Sauks and Foxes was extinguished. They appear, however, to have been included in these treaties more to extinguish indefinite claims than to cede acknowledged rights. In 1819, they ceded, with certain reservations, a large tract in Michigan about Saginaw Bay; and in 1821 joined with the Ottawas and Potawatomes in the cession of an extensive tract in southwestern Michigan. These cessions and others hereafter mentioned indicate the wide range over which this tribe had spread, acquired either by settlement or conquest.

In order to fix the boundaries between the tribes of the Northwest and to prevent further warfare between them on this score, the United States entered into a treaty with a number of the tribes at Prairie du Chien on August 19, 1825, in which the boundaries between the Chippewas and the Sioux and between the former and the Winnebagoes were determined. As that part relating to the Chippewas and Sioux indicates the western boundary of the Chippewa territory, it is given here as follows:

Art. 5. It is agreed between the Sioux and the Chippewas, that the line dividing their respective countries shall commence at the Chippewa river, half a day's march below the falls; and from thence it shall run to Red Cedar river, immediately below the falls; from thence to the St. Croix river, which it strikes at a place called the Standing Cedar, about a day's paddle in a canoe, above the lake at the mouth of that river; thence passing between two lakes called by the Chippewas "Green Lakes," and by the Sioux "the lakes they bury the Eagles in," and from thence to the Standing Cedar, that "the Sioux Split"; thence to Rum river, crossing it at the mouth of a small creek called Choaking creek, a long day's march from the Mississippi; thence to a point of woods that projects into the prairie, half a day's march from the Mississippi; thence in a straight line to the mouth of the first river which enters the Mississippi on its west side above the mouth of Sac river; thence ascending the said river (above the mouth of Sac river) to a small lake at its source; thence in a direct line to a lake at the head of Prairie river, which is supposed to enter the Crow-wing river on its south side; thence to Otter-tail lake Portage; thence to said Otter-tail lake, and down through the middle thereof to its outlet; thence in a

direct line, so as to strike Buffalo river half way from its source to its mouth, and down the said river to Red river, thence descending Red river to the mouth of Outard or Goose creek.

It is seen from this that they had advanced as far west as Ottertail Lake, in Minnesota. It appears that before the close of the Revolutionary War, in 1783, they were in possession of Leech and Red Lakes, and that the Sioux north of Falls of St. Anthony had been driven west of the Mississippi. In 1806, General Pike found 1,120 Chippewas settled at Leech Lake, and 1,020 at Red Lake. In order to show the range of the tribe—exclusive of those north of Lake Superior—at the date of the treaty of 1825 at Prairie du Chien, it is only necessary to state that among the Chippewa chiefs who signed it were those representing the following bands: at Sault Ste. Marie, La Pointe, Fond du Lac, Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, Upper Red Cedar, Red Lake, Mille Lacs, St. Croix River, Lac Courte Oreille, and Lac du Flambeau. Notwithstanding this and other treaties, desultory warfare between this tribe and the Sioux continued up to 1858, when their last battle was fought near Lake Minnetonka.

While there was some excitement among the Chippewas at Leech Lake during the Sioux uprising in 1862, it does not appear that any of the tribe took part in it.

The Indians of this tribe are mostly gathered on reservations in the Dominion of Canada, in Ontario and Manitoba; and in the United States, in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and—a few—in Kansas. Those in Michigan have received allotments in severalty. Those in Canada amount to 20,000; while those in the United States, including the estimated number in Michigan, amount to about 16,600, the aggregate population of the tribe in 1900 exceeding 36,000 persons.

Although the tribe is remarkable for its numbers, extended distribution, and vitality,—its population being probably as great now as at any preceding period of its existence,—it has played a comparatively insignificant rôle in history.

The division dwelling north of Lake Superior was comparatively unknown until in recent years. The location of this northern group being out of the lines of travel, they seldom came in contact with the whites; moreover, they appear to have been mild and harmless, little disposed to war upon other tribes. On account of this disposition, the name "Rabbits" was bestowed upon them by their more warlike southern brethren. They consist of two divisions, known as the "Men of the Thick Woods" and the "Swamp People," names derived from the character of the country in which they reside.

In their mode of life the Chippewas were comparatively rude; game and fish, especially the latter, being abundant in their country, these, together with wild rice, formed their chief subsistence, but little attention being devoted to the cultivation of the soil.

The Potawatomes formed an Algonquian tribe closely related to and possibly an offshoot from the Chippewa tribe; or it may be true, as claimed by Warren in his *History of the Ojibways*, that these two tribes, together with the Ottawas, formed originally one group, and that they separated into distinct organizations at an early day in the vicinity of Straits of Michilimackinac, because of increasing numbers and limited territory, or for some other natural cause. The signification of the name "Potawatomi," "those who keep the fire," indicating the division of the original group to which this duty fell, would be in consonance with this tradition. If the population were considerable, the limited territory in the region of the Straits would have a tendency toward causing a division—the Ottawas going to the islands and the northern shore of Lake Huron, and the Chippewas and Potawatomes continuing their westward course to Sault Ste. Marie and the shores of Green Bay.

When Nicolet reached this northwestern region in 1639, he found the Potawatomes located in the vicinity of Green Bay. But two years later [1641] the Catholic missionaries, who visited Sault Ste. Marie during this year, found them

there, whither they had fled from the Sioux. When the bands of Ottawas and Hurons fleeing westward to escape the attacks of the Iroquois reached Green Bay, they were kindly received by the Potawatomes, who afforded them a temporary asylum until they passed on to Chequamegon. Father Allouez met at the latter point in 1665 a band of Potawatomi warriors numbering three hundred, according to his estimate. He describes them as "very docile and friendly disposed to Christianity, besides being more humane and civilized" than the Indians of other tribes; though elsewhere they are spoken of as a "warlike people extremely idolatrous and fond of polygamy." They received firearms through Perrot as early as 1665 or 1666, which gave them an advantage over other tribes of this section in their warfare. It is stated that in 1668 they were all on the islands of Green Bay; but during the winter of 1669-1670, Allouez found them, together with the Sauks, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, about six hundred in all, wintering in one village at the head of the bay. His estimate of numbers, as is apparent, does not agree if all the Potawatomes were at this village at that time. This, however, may be explained by his statement (*Jesuit Relation* for 1669-1671) that "a league and a half away was another village of a hundred and fifty souls; four leagues distant, one of a hundred souls; and eight leagues from here, on the other side of the Bay, one of about three hundred souls." The mission of St. Francis Xavier, which became one of the most important in the Northwest, was founded here at this time, where in 1676 a "beautiful church" was built by Father Albanel.

For some reason not explained, the Potawatomes appear to have split into some three or four bands about the commencement of the eighteenth century; one band was on St. Joseph River, southern Michigan, in 1721, where it remained until 1830; another was at Detroit in 1727; while another remained at its old habitat near Green Bay. George Imlay, writing a *Topographical Description*

of the *Western Territory* about 1790, estimates the number at St. Joseph and Detroit, taken together, at two hundred and seventy souls.

Among the Indian allies of the French in their war with the English, there is mention of at least one band of Potawatomes, of fifty warriors, who arrived at Montreal in 1746 to tender their services to the former; and seventy of the St. Joseph band and eighteen from Detroit are enumerated among the Indian forces gathered at Ticonderoga in 1757. Members of the tribe were also represented at Fort Du Quesne in 1755 when Braddock was defeated; some, again, were with Pontiac in his attack on Detroit in 1763 and took a prominent part in the siege.

Although peace had been made between England and France, the Potawatomes, incited by the French, were committing robberies and murders on the Wabash in 1772, and were also represented among the Indian troops defeated by General Wayne in 1794.

They joined with the Delawares and Miamis in ceding to the United States, by treaty at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, certain lands in Indiana. This purchase angered Tecumseh against the whites; at least it was made a pretext by him for commencing hostilities, in which he was joined by the Potawatomes and the other tribes who signed the treaty. The Potawatomes again took up arms in the British interest in 1812, and joined other tribes in a final treaty of peace in 1815. As the white settlements rapidly pressed upon them, they sold their land by piecemeal, chiefly between 1836 and 1841, and most of them removed beyond the Mississippi. A small party went to Canada and settled upon Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair. Those who went west were removed from point to point, the larger portion finally settling in Indian Territory; a part, however, remained in Kansas.

The Indians who for a time gave most trouble to the French were those belonging to the tribe called by the English the Foxes, also known under the name Outagamis.

The earliest home of this tribe, and also of the cognate Sauks, to which they can be traced appears to have been in the eastern portion of the lower Michigan peninsula. They were chased thence by the Iroquois, or possibly the Neuters, at some time previous to 1665, as they were located at this time along Fox and Wolf Rivers in Wisconsin, though it is stated in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1667 that it was during the year 1665 they settled in this section. It was here that Father Allouez visited them in 1670 and started the mission of St. Mark. This mission was, however, soon abandoned, on account of the hostile attitude of the Foxes toward the French. Their number at this time, as given from actual observation, was four hundred warriors, indicating a total population of some fourteen hundred souls.

In 1671, they joined the Ottawas and the Hurons in an expedition against the Sioux, which resulted in the capture of a few prisoners and the loss of an equal number of their own men. They formed part of the allied forces who met at Long Point in 1683-1684 to assist De la Barre in his attack upon the Iroquois, which was not carried out, because of the treaty entered into with the latter. They were at war with both the Sioux and the Chippewas in 1685-1686. It was at this time that Perrot, having succeeded in obtaining from them the daughter of a Chippewa chief they had taken prisoner, brought the two tribes together in a treaty of peace. A few years later, in company with the Miamis, they were again at war with the Sioux; and in 1712 joined the Mascoutens and Kickapoos in an attack on Detroit, but were defeated in the latter engagement by Du Buission, who called to his aid the Potawatomes and some other friendly tribes. We next hear of them at war with the Chippewas on the one side and the Illinois on the other. The French, in order to put a stop to this warfare, which was detrimental to their trade, and to bring about peace, called a council at Green Bay in 1726. However, the promises made at this meeting were merely formal, as the strife continued as before.

The exactions of the tribe upon the traders became so annoying that the French determined to put an end to them. The statements in regard to the expeditions sent against them differ quite materially as to dates, incidents, and leaders. However, it seems clear that the expulsion of the tribe from Fox River took place about 1746, when they fled to Wisconsin River. Being greatly reduced by their constant warfare and recent signal defeats, they united with the Sauks and were afterward known under the joint name—Sauks and Foxes, or Sauk and Fox tribe.

This restless, war-loving tribe was for years the chief disturbing element in the Northwest. There was chronic warfare between the Sioux and the Chippewas, yet this affected the other tribes only to a limited extent; but the Foxes were a continual source of annoyance to the other Indians and to the French, hence their expulsion was a source of relief to both.

The Sauks, with whom the Foxes were closely related ethnically, probably formed the ancestral stem of the group, whose early home was in eastern Michigan, about Saginaw Bay. Father Allouez found them at Chequamegon, and afterward in 1669 on Green Bay, and up Fox River, where they had a village. They were a restless people, shifting from point to point, yet appear to have been to some extent cultivators of the soil. The Sauks, like the Foxes, were engaged in perennial warfare with the Sioux, joining sometimes with one Algonquin neighbor and then with another in these raids, as well as in defence. They were driven from their home on Fox River at the same time the Foxes were expelled, 1746. The Sauks retired to Wisconsin River and located themselves at Sauk Prairie, where Carver found them in 1766; the Foxes, although they had entered into formal union with the Sauks, were then living separately at Prairie du Chien.

The chief episode in the history of the tribe after the union with the Foxes was the so-called "Black Hawk War" of 1832. The Indian leader in this war was the noted

Sauk chieftain Black Hawk, who was born at the principal Sauk village on Rock River in 1767. Although not the son of a chief, he rose rapidly to distinction through personal prowess. As early as 1783, he joined an expedition against the Osages and had the fortune to kill several of the enemy. For this brave deed he was permitted, for the first time, to join in the scalp dance. His personal bravery and success soon gave him a following of more than a hundred warriors; and in 1786, yet only nineteen years of age, he was marching at the head of two hundred followers into the enemy's country. In the battle with the Osages which followed they killed one hundred, with a loss of only nineteen of their party. Black Hawk was credited by his party with having slain a score of the enemy by his own hand. Further success soon raised him to the position of chief.

On the opening of the War of 1812, the Sauks tendered their services to the United States, but their offer was rejected; and British intrigue and British goods soon thereafter won the chief and most of his tribe to their interest. The move proved an unsuccessful one, and after repeated defeats Black Hawk returned, disappointed, to his village on Rock River. In 1816, he and his tribe concluded a treaty of peace, which brought undisturbed quiet for the next sixteen years.

The Sauks and Foxes, by the treaty of November 3, 1804, had ceded their lands east of the Mississippi, including their home on Rock River, to the United States. This treaty was distasteful to Black Hawk, and when the removal of the tribe to the lands assigned them in the west was enforced this feeling was embittered. In 1831, he returned with his followers to their old planting ground on Rock River, only to find white settlers already occupying their former homes. A body of volunteers was raised to drive away these Indians, who had become troublesome. The first conflict was a defeat for the whites under Major Stillman, and thus commenced the Black Hawk war. Murders and reprisals followed; and in June, 1832, the Indians made

an attack on the fort at Buffalo Grove, not far from Dixon's Ferry. This was defended by one hundred and fifty soldiers, who succeeded in holding the place, though with the loss of several men. When the Indians retired, they had not gone far before they were overtaken by a detachment under Colonel Posey, which was quickly repulsed.

On the 21st of July, the Indians were attacked by the troops under General Dodge, on the banks of Wisconsin River; the engagement resulted in the rout of the Indians with heavy loss. "A party of Black Hawk's band, including many women and children, now attempted to descend the Wisconsin on rafts and in canoes, that they might escape by recrossing the Mississippi," but in this attempt they were overtaken by the troops; many were killed, some were taken prisoners, and others perished from hunger. Another part of the band, among whom was Black Hawk, having, it is said, abandoned all idea of continuing the war, but being unwilling to trust themselves to a capitulation, started across the Mississippi. In this march many were lost by starvation. Reaching the Mississippi, a number of women and children undertook to descend the river in canoes to Prairie du Chien, but many were drowned and the survivors became reduced to a state of starvation. While Black Hawk and his party—the women and children having left them, as stated—were crossing the Mississippi, they were attacked by a party of soldiers on the steamboat "Warrior," and twenty-three of the fugitives were killed.

The main body of the Indians who were defeated on the Wisconsin, having fled to the bank of the Mississippi for the purpose of passing over, were pursued and attacked here and slaughtered without mercy. A writer, in an article published in the nearest newspaper,—the *Galena Gazette*,—four days after the battle, which is called a slaughter rather than a victory, says: "When the Indians were driven to the banks of the Mississippi, some hundreds of men, women, and children plunged into the river, and hoped by diving to escape the bullets of our guns. Very few,

however, escaped our sharp-shooters." Among the killed on the Wisconsin shore was a mother, whose infant was feeding at her breast when a bullet passed through and broke the arm of the child and penetrated the heart of the parent. When discovered, the child was alive, and, receiving the attention of one of the surgeons, survived the wound.

Black Hawk, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, allowed himself to be delivered to the United States authorities by a friendly Winnebago chief.

Keokuk, who had been Black Hawk's rival, and had advised against a violation of the treaties, now exerted himself to obtain the latter's release. This, however, did not take place until after Black Hawk had been taken to Washington and confined for a brief period in Fortress Monroe.

In looking back from our modern standpoint over this last struggle of the Indians of the Northwest residing east of the Mississippi for the retention of their ancient homesteads, the pathetic side becomes apparent, and it is difficult to look upon the action of the military forces with approval. When it became evident that the Indians were endeavoring to cross the Mississippi to the lands assigned them, the pursuit and slaughter seem to have been wanton cruelty. However, the unprotected pioneer settlements and the characteristic treachery of the Indians account for this heavy retaliation, the necessity for which we, in this day of peace and entire exemption from similar danger, cannot appreciate.

The next most important Indians of the region now under consideration were those of the Illinois group. The tribes included under this confederate name were the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigami, Moingouena, Peoria, and Tamaroa; all, with the exception of the Kaskaskia tribe, comparatively small bodies. However, as they were closely related and generally treated of by the earlier and even by some later writers under the generic name Illinois, or Illinois Indians, the same method will be followed here.

They are first mentioned by the French writers between 1640 and 1658 as living in the vicinity of Green Bay. But

"vicinity" in this connection was a most indefinite term, and applied, through the very imperfect knowledge of the country, to tribes fifty or seventy-five leagues distant, as well as to those in the immediate neighborhood. The *Jesuit Relation* for 1660 represents them as living southwest from Green Bay in sixty villages, and gives the extravagant estimate of a population of one hundred thousand. When Allouez visited them three years later, they were reduced to two villages.

Their exact location when first heard of by the whites cannot be determined with certainty, as the tribes and bands were more or less scattered over southern Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and along the west bank of the Mississippi. When Marquette voyaged down the Mississippi in 1673, he found the Peorias and Moingouenas on the west side, about the mouth of Des Moines River. On his return he found them on Illinois River, near the site of the present city of Peoria. The Kaskaskias were at that time in a village a little further north on the upper Illinois River, near the site of the present town of Utica, La Salle County. The village is reported as then consisting of seventy-four cabins, and occupied by one tribe only; but a few years later, 1690-1694, the missionaries inform us that at that date it consisted of three hundred and fifty cabins, and was occupied by people of eight tribes.

The Kaskaskias were at the last-mentioned date in somewhat intimate relations with the Peorias. Father Gravier, who was at their village in 1700, found them preparing to move south. And it was chiefly through his influence that the Peorias were prevented from moving and that the Kaskaskias stopped in southern Illinois, at the place called after the latter, Kaskaskia, which became their historic seat. The Cahokias and Tamaroas were at this time located in their well-known seat on the east bank of the Mississippi, a little south of St. Louis.

The Illinois Indians were in early days almost constantly harassed by the Sioux, Foxes, and other northern tribes, and

it was probably on this account that they concentrated, about the time of La Salle's visit, on Illinois River. About the same time, or very soon thereafter, the Iroquois began a war upon them which lasted several years and greatly reduced their numbers; while the liquor which they obtained from the French traders tended to degrade them still further.

The assassination of the celebrated chieftain Pontiac by a Kaskaskia Indian in 1769 brought down the vengeance of the lake tribes upon the Illinois Indians. "Could his shade," writes Parkman, "have revisited the scene of murder, his savage spirit would have exulted in the vengeance which overwhelmed the abettors of the crime. Whole tribes were rooted out to expiate it. Chiefs and sachems, whose veins had thrilled with his eloquence; young warriors, whose aspiring hearts had caught the inspiration of his greatness, mustered to revenge his fate, and from the north and east their united bands descended on the villages of the Illinois." A war of extermination was waged which in a few years reduced them to a mere handful, who took refuge with the French settlers at Kaskaskia. In 1778, the Kaskaskias numbered two hundred and ten, living in a village three miles north of the town of the same name; and the Peorias and Michigamis together numbered but one hundred and seventy, living on the Mississippi a few miles further north. In 1833, the tribes sold their lands in Illinois and removed west of the Mississippi, the miserable remnant of the once formidable confederacy finally consolidating with the Weas and Piankishaws in Indian Territory.

The Illinois were described by Marquette and Allouez as the most docile and susceptible of Christianity of any of the western Indians. They were always firm friends of the French, but in their later years became degraded to the lowest degree. Such were the predecessors on the broad and beautiful prairies of Illinois of the millions of inhabitants that now occupy them.

CHAPTER XIV

INDIANS OF ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI, AND WESTERN GEORGIA

THE Indians to whom attention is directed in this chapter are those through whose territory De Soto and his army of Spanish marauders swept like a storm in 1539-1540, marking their pathway with devastation and ruin. The windstorm passes through the forest, levelling the sturdy oaks or lofty pines, and is gone; all is again serene as before, the denizens of the forest seem in a few hours to have forgotten the danger. So, to some degree, was it with the Indians through whose territory the adelantado and his army marched; a century and a quarter had gone by before they were again seen; the storm was forgotten, and De Soto was a name unknown to them. The Indians he encountered after leaving the dominion of the Lady of Cutifachiqui, which extended to northern Georgia, until the Mississippi was reached, belonged to the Muskogean stock, which occupied the larger portion of the area embraced in the present states of Alabama and Mississippi and the western part of Georgia. The tribes which resided in these bounds not included in the Muskogean family were few and of limited population. The most important of these were the Uchees, already noticed; the Natches, living on the bank of Mississippi River in the southwestern part of the present state of Mississippi, who, together with the Taensa Indians, formerly residing on the opposite bank of the Mississippi near the same latitude, constituted a distinct family known

as the Natchesan; and the Tonikas, a small tribe and a distinct stock, formerly on Yazoo River in Mississippi. There were also some small tribes on the same river, of which but little is known. Located on the gulf coast of Mississippi, near Pearl River, were the tribes known as the Pascagoula and Biloxi Indians, members of the great Siouan stock.

The principal tribes of the Muskogean family were the Creeks, or Muskogees proper, the Chickasaws, and the Choctaws. The Alibamu, Apalache, Koassati, Yamacraw, and Yamasi tribes also belonged to the same family group. According to Dr. Gatschet, this family or stock consisted of four branches or subfamilies. The first, which he designates the Muskogee branch, included only the one tribe, the Creeks, or Muskogees proper. The second, or Apalache branch, included the extinct Apalaches, the Mikasukis, the Hitchitis, and parts of the composite groups—the Seminoles, Yamasis, and Yamacraws. The third, or Alibamu branch, included the Alibamu, Koassati, and Wetumka tribes. The fourth, or Choctaw branch, included the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The Seminole and Yamacraw groups were composed in part of offshoots from the Creeks.

The Uchees, who, when they first became known to the whites, occupied both banks of Savannah River from a point some distance below Augusta well up toward its headwaters, have already been noticed in a previous chapter, and their history followed up to their incorporation into the Creek nation, after which they had no separate history, being known only as Creeks. Nevertheless, they have retained to the present day their own language, which is used by them in their intercourse with one another, though they use the Creek language in their conversation with others.

Of the tribes mentioned above as forming the Muskogean family, the most populous, as well as the most important in the history of the Southern states, was the Creek nation, or Muskogee tribe, the name of which has

been used to form the family designation. The name "Creeks" was given to the people of this tribe by the English traders, because of the large number of creeks in their country, and, as applied, is equivalent to "the people of the creeks." They were settled chiefly in northern Alabama and along the upper and middle Chattahoochee River. James Adair, in his *History of the American Indians*, gives Koosa [Coosa] River as the western boundary of their country; but it is apparent from his map, and from certain statements, that his Koosa is not the Coosa of modern maps, but is the Tuscaloosa, or one of the branches of this river—the Black Warrior, or Tombigbee. He places them on his map between what are now called the Tombigbee and the Coosa, and says [1775] that "this nation extends 140 miles in breadth from east to west according to the course of the trading path."

The Creeks in historic times occupied a central position among other affiliated tribes, and, because of their strength in numbers and their influence on most of the cognate groups, formed the most important tribe in the Gulf states. Their custom of incorporating bands or parties from other tribes, or entire tribes where small, added to their strength in numbers and widened their relations. Tradition asserts that generally, when the Creek nation incorporated other tribes or bands into their confederacy, these incorporated people soon abandoned their peculiar customs and adopted those of the Creeks. The Tukabatchees and Tuskegees, people from other stocks who were absorbed, are said to have dropped entirely their own language after they were brought into the confederacy. However, this tradition certainly did not apply to all, as several tribes which were incorporated are known to have retained their language, some even to the present day, as the Uchee, Alibamu, etc.

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins says, in his *Sketch of the Creek Country*, that "all tradition among the Creeks pointed to the country west of the Mississippi, as the original habitat

of these tribes." This tradition in its most complete form is given by Dr. A. S. Gatschet in his *Migration Legends of the Creek Indians*. Although the localities mentioned in the first part of the tradition cannot be identified with absolute certainty, it is clear from the whole tradition that the movement was from west to east. Yet there are no statements in the tradition, as given, that place the starting point with certainty west of the Mississippi.

There is, however, another version of this tradition, the substance of which is given by William Bartram in his *Travels* [1791]. This author visited them in 1773-1774 and obtained his information directly from the Indians. He gives the substance in brief form thus: "If we are to give credit to the account the Creeks give of themselves, this place [the Oakmulgeefields] is remarkable as being the first town or settlement, when they set down (as they term it) or established themselves after their emigration from the west, beyond the Mississippi, their original native country. On this long journey they suffered great and innumerable difficulties, encountering and vanquishing numerous valient tribes of Indians, who opposed their march. Having crossed the river, still pushing eastward, they were obliged to make a stand and fortify themselves in this place, as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed a government for themselves, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into confederacy the vanquished tribes. And they say also, that about this period the English were establishing the colony of Carolina; and the Creeks, understanding that they were a powerful, warlike people, sent deputies to Charleston, their capitol, offering them their friendship and alliance which was accepted, and in consequence thereof a treaty took place between them which has remained inviolable to

this day" [1773]. He adds further, as a part of their history: "They never ceased war against the numerous and potent bands of Indians, who then surrounded and cramped the English plantations, as the Savannas, Ogechees, Wapoos, Santees, Yamasees, Utinas, Icosans, Paticas, and others, until they had exterminated them. The Yamasees and their adherents sheltering themselves under the power and protection of the Spaniards of East Florida, they pursued them to the very gates of St. Augustine; and the Spaniards refusing to deliver them up, these faithful and intrepid allies had the courage to declare war against them, until they entirely broke up and ruined their settlements, driving them before them, till at length they were obliged to retire within the walls of St. Augustine and a few inferior fortified posts on the sea coast."

The identification of some of the tribes mentioned in this extract is uncertain. The Savannas, and probably the Ogechees, were Uchees. The Santees formed a distinct tribe. The cause of the bitter feeling of the Creeks toward the Yamasis, a cognate people, does not appear to be mentioned by Bartram or any of the writers who treat of this subject. It is possible that the Yamasis had received and adopted some fugitives whom, on account of their troublesome character, the Creeks had pushed out of their community, which course angered them; it is, however, more likely that the cause of enmity arose from the alliance of the Yamasis with the enemies of the Creeks.

Among the early contests with other tribes was that with the Alibamus, residing on Alabama River. This tribe appears to have preceded the Creeks in the settlement of the country, and had made choice of a desirable locality, of which the latter were anxious to gain possession.

The Alibamus, driven from their homes by superior numbers, sought peace and protection under the wing of the French, who, having appeared on the scene, encouraged the proposition and brought about an interview between the chiefs of the two tribes. In the presence of M. Bienville,

the commandant [1702], a peace was made, and the Alibamus were incorporated into the Creek confederacy.

Not long after the incorporation of the Alibamus, the Tukabatchees, who had been nearly destroyed by the Iroquois, "wandered from the Ohio country, and," according to A. J. Pickett (*History of Alabama*), "obtained permission from the Muscogeas to form a part of their nation. They were willingly received by the cunning Muscogeas, who were anxious to gain all the strength they could, to prevent the encroachments of the English from South Carolina." These wanderers are supposed to have been a band of Shawnees who had left their country because of the raids of the Iroquois upon their people. However, if this supposition, which appears to be based on strong evidence, be correct, they must soon have dropped their own tongue for that of their protectors, as we learn from Bartram that at the time of his visit in 1773 they spoke the Muskogee, or Creek, language. However, Woodward declares in his *Reminiscences* that they were pure Creeks.

According to the first-named authority, about the time the event mentioned in the preceding paragraph occurred, or a little earlier [1700], a band of Cherokees, or Indians speaking the Cherokee language and known as the Tuskegees, having made their way down into eastern Alabama, were received by the Creeks with open arms, and permitted to occupy the territory immediately in the fork of Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. They built their town on the east bank of the former, and called it after their own tribal name. It was here that the French afterward built Fort Toulouse.

Although the French began with the first years of the eighteenth century to plant a colony on Mobile Bay, ultimately establishing a fort at the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa, the history of their settlement in this region contains but little reference to the Creeks. One primary object in view in planting a colony at this point was to obtain the trade of the Indians of this southern section, which had been going to the English of Carolina and

Georgia. The settlement, however, did not entirely escape trouble with the natives; but fortunately the two or three feeble tribes immediately surrounding were either friendly to the settlers or unable to form combinations with other more powerful tribes.

The nearest neighbors of the French were the Mobilians, or the so-called Mobile Indians, near the fort on the bay; and the Tehomes, a closely related tribe living two leagues further north. The Alibamus lived the furthest south of the Indians on Coosa River, and hence were the tribe next above Fort Louis. This tribe was in frequent conflict with the French during the early years of their settlement at this point. Next above them, on the same river, were the Abikas, a Creek band. It was this band that, in company with the Cherokees and Cadapouces [Catawbas], descended the river in 1708, to the number, it is said, of four thousand, in a war expedition against the French. Their intention was to destroy the settlement, the whole movement being the result of English influence and intrigue. The French, having received timely warning, were on their guard. For some unknown reason, or from failure of courage, the invaders, when they had reached the object of attack, suddenly abandoned their project, and, after burning a few cabins of the Mobile Indians, retired without attempting anything further.

There are but few and brief items in addition to what have been given relating to the history of the Creeks up to the close of the eighteenth century. In 1722, Captain Marchand was in command of Fort Toulouse, and during this year or soon thereafter was slain by his men, who had mutinied. This Captain Marchand had taken as a wife a Creek maiden of the clan of the Wind, the most powerful and influential clan of the Creek nation. One of the children of this marriage was a beautiful daughter, called Sehoy. In 1735, there came from a wealthy home in Scotland a youth of sixteen, named Lachlan McGillivray, anxious to see the wonders of this land. He landed in Carolina,

joined the Indian traders, and proceeded to the Creek country, saw the beautiful Sehoj and married her. When he had gained a fortune, and spent nearly fifty years as an Indian trader and Georgia Royalist in the American wilds, he left his Indian children and his plantations when the British left Savannah [about 1782], and returned to his native land, taking with him his money and transportable effects. One of the children thus abandoned was Alexander, who became noted, wealthy, and powerful in his influence. After being educated at Charleston, he returned to the Indian country, took control of the Creek nation, and received from the British the rank and pay of a British colonel in the war of the Revolution; he went to Pensacola in 1784 and made a treaty with Spain, as "emperor" of the Creeks and Seminoles. He also concluded and signed on behalf of the Creeks the treaty with the United States made at New York, August 7, 1790. He received from the United States the title and rank of brigadier-general, with a salary of twelve hundred dollars a year, and afterward was appointed by Spain superintendent-general of the Creek nation, with a salary of two thousand dollars a year, which was increased in July, 1792, to thirty-five hundred. His death occurred at Pensacola, February 17, 1793.

As his family came into prominence in subsequent events, we note the fact that Sophia McGillivray, one of his sisters, married Benjamin Durant, who was of Huguenot descent. Another Indian trader, Charles Weatherford, of Scotch or English descent, married his half-sister, who was the daughter of an Indian chief of pure blood. We have here the names of McGillivray, Weatherford, and Durant, as connected with the same family,—persons whose names became prominent in the subsequent history of the tribe.

The Creeks appear to have been generally quiet during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, except their warring on the one side with the Cherokees and on the other with the Choctaws. But in the last

quarter of the eighteenth century, when the English occupation began and calls were made for additional cessions of land, the usual results followed. In 1773, John Stewart and the Governor of Georgia succeeded in obtaining from the Cherokees and Creeks a large area on the headwaters of Ogeechee River. "This newly ceded territory began to be rapidly settled, when a party of Creeks attacked Sherrill's Fort, killed several persons and forced the others to barricade an outhouse where they would have been butchered but for the timely arrival of Captain Barnard with forty men, who dispersed the enemy."—(Pickett.) However, the outbreak was soon quieted through the efforts of George Galphin, who had great influence with the tribe. The position of the Creeks during the Revolutionary War was generally hostile to the Americans. Parties of them would join their former enemies, the Cherokees, in raids upon the Georgia, Carolina, and Tennessee settlements, thus keeping the border country in a state of constant alarm where not entirely abandoned. When Ferguson and Tarleton with their British forces prepared to invade North Carolina, they were joined by a body of Creeks under McGillivray. These continued to carry on a desultory warfare against the whites until 1795.

When Tecumseh visited the Creek nation in 1811 and pleaded with all his native eloquence the cause in which he was engaged, the elders were opposed to his designs and clearly expressed their dissent; but the fiery young warriors were unrestrainable, and the Creeks plunged into the war with the impetuosity natural to their race. Weatherford was the most conspicuous of their chieftains. In person he was tall, straight, and well proportioned. "Nature," says one author, "had bestowed upon him genius, eloquence, and courage; but his moral character was far from commendable." With avarice, treachery, and a thirst for blood, he combined lust, gluttony, and a love of every species of criminal carousal. Such, at least, is the character given him by his contemporaries.

The mutterings of the storm about to burst upon the whites had already attracted attention. The outrages of the Indians became so alarming that the militia of the southwest was called out to meet the danger. A large number of the inhabitants took refuge in a stockade known as Fort Mimms, on Lake Tensas, Alabama, which Governor Claiborne garrisoned with one hundred and seventy men. The governor, foreseeing an attack by Weatherford, warned the officer in charge of the imminent danger, and urged the utmost vigilance against surprise. The warning was unheeded; and when Weatherford and his host appeared a few days later, they dashed through the open gate and fell upon the unprepared garrison. The latter, however, fought with all the bravery of desperation. For a quarter of an hour, tomahawk, knife, sword, and bayonet did their fearful work. But the contest of one against ten in a hand-to-hand conflict was in vain; the struggle was soon over. The women and children shut themselves up in the block house, and, catching up what weapons were within reach, made the last defence. However, the Indians succeeded in setting the structure on fire, and the unfortunate refugees were burned to death—the first holocaust of the war to the demon of cruelty! Seventeen, only, of the entire garrison escaped, most of whom were badly wounded.

The war in the south now became general, and General Jackson took the field in person. Colonel Coffee invaded the country of the hostile Indians, and, with a considerable force, encountered the Indians at Tallussahatchee Creek, November, 1813. The savages fought desperately, but were defeated, one hundred and eighty-six of their number perishing in the struggle. Soon after this, Jackson's army encountered a large body of the enemy at Talladega, where, after a most bloody contest, three hundred Indians were left dead upon the field.

The war continued until all the hostile tribes were subdued; the most noted battles fought during the campaign were at Autossee, where some two hundred were slain; and

that of the Horseshoe Bend. At this latter point the Indians fortified themselves for a last desperate effort, their number exceeding one thousand. General Jackson, on March 27, 1814, attacked the fortification with treble the number of the enemy. The place was carried by storm, under a heavy fire from within. More than half the Indians were killed in the fort, and an unknown number perished in their effort to escape by crossing the river. "When it was evident that the whites were victors General Jackson sent a messenger with a flag of truce to invite surrender, who was fired upon. After this, no mercy was shown; until night put an end to the work of destruction, they were shot or cut down wherever they could be found, and even on the following morning, a considerable number were ferreted out from the 'caves and reeds,' where they had sought concealment, and remorselessly put to death. Several hundred women and children were made captives."

In April following, the Indians sued for peace; but Jackson insisted that, before proposals could be entertained, their great chief Weatherford should be delivered up. On hearing this, the chief, seeing his cause was hopeless, and anxious to relieve his people, gave himself up to Jackson. "I am," he said, addressing the general, "in your power. Do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the whites all the harm I could. I have fought them bravely. If I had an army, I would yet fight. I would contend to the last; but I have done; my people are all gone. I can only weep over the misfortunes of my nation." Jackson bade him go free, and restrain his people from further violence.

Thus ended the Creek war; the Indians retired without a murmur to the reservations assigned them, and were ultimately removed to the west of the Mississippi. According to the census of 1890, the number of Creeks on their reservation in Indian Territory was 9,291. They now form one of the "five civilized tribes" of Indian Territory, and are among the most advanced on the road to civilization.

The Alibamus—a small tribe which has given name to the united waters of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and to one of the leading Gulf states—resided in historic times on Alabama River, in close contact with the upper Creeks. Their traditional history is involved in the Creek legend of a migration from the west. They are mentioned therein as one of four tribes contending for the honor of being considered the most ancient and valorous: an indication that at some former period they held a prominent position among the cognate tribes. Whether they occupied their historic seat at the time of De Soto's passage through the country is exceedingly doubtful; in fact, it is more than probable they had not reached this region at that time.

When the French began to select and fix upon points for settlement and trading posts in Mobile Bay and the coast regions of Alabama and Mississippi, it was not long before they came in contact with the Alibamus. We are told that Bienville "found on the banks and many adjacent islands, places abandoned by the savages on account of war with the Conchaques and Alibamons"; nor was it long before the French became involved in a war with the latter. These Indians joined the Cherokees, Abikas, and Catawbias in their expedition against the French and Mobilians in 1708, as heretofore mentioned. Fort Toulouse was built by the French in 1714, ostensibly for trade with the Creeks, but with a view also of holding the Alibamus in check. After the cession by the French in 1763 of their possessions in North America to Great Britain, the fort was abandoned. Thereupon a part of the Alibamus, numbering thirty warriors, and in all about one hundred and twenty souls, removed westward, and established a village about sixty miles above New Orleans, on Mississippi River. At a later day they removed further west, into what is now Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana, where some were still living in 1890; another part, numbering two hundred persons, settled in Polk County, Texas; others settled among the Creeks, in Indian Territory.

Another one of the chief tribes of the Muskogean stock was that known as the Choctaw nation, whose home in historic times was in the middle and southern sections of what is now the state of Mississippi. Their settlements in their palmy days extended from the Mississippi to the Tombigbee and even to the east of it, and consisted of more than sixty villages. Their origin was, according to their tradition, the same as that of the Creeks, the two tribes, together with the Chickasaw and Alibamu nations, forming the group which migrated from the west.

There can be little doubt that Tuscalusa, the giant chief met by De Soto in his journey down the Coosa valley, and his tribesmen, who fought the Spaniards so fiercely at Mauvila, were people of Choctaw lineage. However, when the French appeared on the scene, one hundred and fifty years later, the eastern limits of the tribe appear to have been somewhat restricted, probably through the pressure of the growing Creek nation.

On account of the vicinity of the French colonies at Mobile, Biloxi, and New Orleans to their country, the Choctaws soon, through the desire of both parties to trade and traffic with each other, came into friendly relations with the French, and acted as their allies in their wars with other tribes. For instance, in the French war against the Natches, in 1730, a large body of Choctaw warriors served as allies, under a French officer; and on the morning of January 27th, before daylight, made a furious attack on the principal Natches village, killing sixty of the inhabitants, and rescuing fifty-nine French women and children. They also assisted the French in their war with the Chickasaws in 1736. Subsequently, the English traders succeeded in bringing the eastern settlements of the tribe, known as the "small nation," into conflict with the main body, or western portion, known as the "long tribe"; which continued until 1763, when, after the destruction of one of the eastern villages, peace was made between the divisions. The principal wars with other tribes were those with the Creeks,

but these were always defensive on the part of the Choctaws and, as it is averred, seldom very sanguinary, though Albert Gallatin, from data obtained by him, estimates their losses in six years of this intertribal war [1765-1771] at three hundred men.

According to Milfort, there was quite a distinction between the southern, or Gulf coast, Choctaws and the chief, or more northern, portion. While the latter were industrious, brave, clothed in garments, and "accustomed to wear their hair in the Creek fashion," the southern members were dirty, indolent, and cowardly, miserably dressed, and inveterate beggars. Quite a number of the tribe broke away from the main body some time in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and passed over to the west side of the Mississippi. Milfort met some of these bands on Red River in 1780, at which time they were at war with the Caddoes. In 1809, a Choctaw village existed on Washita River, and another on Bayou Chicot, Opelousas Parish, Louisiana.

It does not appear that the Choctaws took part against the Americans in the Creek war, notwithstanding the statement of some historians to the contrary. H. S. Halbert (*The Creek War*) says the testimony of the oldest men of the tribe is that at no time during the war was there any manifestation of hostility on the part of the Choctaws toward the Americans.

As early as 1830, some twelve or fifteen hundred had passed to the west of the Mississippi and were residing on Red River. Those remaining in Mississippi, having ceded most of their lands to the United States Government, removed to Indian Territory, where a reservation had been set aside for them, on which they now reside as one of the "five civilized tribes."

As has been stated, the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and some small tribes formed the fourth or western division of the Muskogean family. The Chickasaws lived immediately north of the Choctaws, their settlements extending over

the northern part of Mississippi and northward along Mississippi River into west Tennessee. Their main villages, in the eighteenth century and also at the time of De Soto's expedition, were in the section now embraced in Pontotoc and Union Counties, Mississippi. This section was the "Chicasas provincia" of the chronicles of this expedition, where the Spaniards met with a hostile reception.

The Chickasaws were the constant and irreconcilable enemies of the French. This opposition was produced in part by the intrigues of English traders residing among them, and in part because the former had entered into friendly relations with the Choctaws, who were their enemies.

The Chickasaws differed from the Choctaws in being warlike in disposition,—they were, so to speak, the Iroquois among the Muskogean,—being constantly engaged in quarrels and broils with all their neighbors, sometimes warring with the Choctaws and Creeks, their kinsmen, and then with the Cherokees, Illinois, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Osages, Quapaws, Tonikas, or Mobilians. Often they combined with one of these tribes in an attack upon another. Thus, they combined with the Cherokees in defeating the Shawnees and driving them from their home on Cumberland River. In 1732, they cut to pieces a party of Iroquois that had invaded their country; and sixteen years later joined the latter in an attack upon the French. They were constant, however, in their hostile attitude toward the latter; and took sides with and encouraged the Natches in their resistance to the French encroachments, and gave shelter to this unfortunate tribe when it was forced to abandon its home. They defeated D'Artaguet and Bienville, who attacked their stronghold in 1736, and, capturing and slaying the one, forced the other to abandon the siege. A treaty of peace was made between the two peoples in 1740, but ten years later the restless Chickasaws were again committing depredations on the French colonists and interrupting the trade on Mississippi River.

Again [1752] a French army was sent against them, but returned after miserably failing to accomplish its purpose.

After the United States had gained its independence, the relations with these Indians were regulated by the treaty of Hopewell in 1786, whereby the boundaries of their lands were defined. By treaties in 1832 and 1834, they ceded their lands east of the Mississippi and agreed to remove to the west, to the reservation provided for them in Indian Territory, where they constitute another of the "five civilized tribes."

There were a number of small tribes, chiefly located in Mississippi and Louisiana, which were apparently offshoots from the Choctaws, or at least pertained linguistically and ethnically to the western division of the Muskogean family. These were the Mobilians already mentioned, the Tehomes or Thomes, Mugulashas, Houmas, Bayogoulas, and Colapissas.

The Mobilians and Tehomes, when the French began a colony at Mobile [1701-1702], erected their lodges in the vicinity of the fort as the place of greatest security from the attacks of their enemies. The Mugulashas resided in the vicinity of the French colonists of Biloxi Bay, but appear to have been well-nigh exterminated by the Bayogoulas in 1700. The Bayogoulas occupied a village on the west bank of Mississippi River, "sixty-four leagues distant from the sea." Their town is described as consisting of one hundred and seven cabins and two temples. A fire was kept burning in the centre of each temple, and about the door of each were carved wooden figures of animals, that of the opossum being the prevailing form.

The Houmas, or Oumas, lived on the east bank of the Mississippi, a short distance above the mouth of Red River, in a village consisting of one hundred and forty cabins, inhabited by about three hundred and fifty families. They were friendly to the French. Most of, if not all, these minor tribes are extinct. Here and there in the earlier records we find the names of tribes in this southern region, of which nothing further is known. They appear for a moment to the white-faced visitants from the Old World

and then vanish. The earth mounds and other earthen remains scattered by the hundreds, perhaps thousands, over the surface of the Southern states are not the only monuments of that section; the names of departed tribes, of vanished nations, perpetuated in the names of streams, capes, and other natural features, or preserved only in the historical records, are true, genuine monuments of the past history of the race in that section.

Ere the chapter is closed, mention must be made of another tribe, the Natches, who, though inconsiderable as to numbers, figure extensively in the history of French rule on the lower Mississippi. According to their tradition, which probably has a very slender basis of fact, their nation was in former days powerful in numbers and extent of territory, over which their great "Sun"—or chief—exercised control. It counted, says the tradition, "sixty villages and eight hundred suns or princes." This would give about thirteen chiefs to a village, a rather abundant supply. When visited by Iberville in 1699, they were residing in some nine or ten contiguous villages along St. Catharine Creek, near the site of the present Natchez, Mississippi; the principal village, which was the residence of the "Sun," as they named their chief, was distant only about a league from Mississippi River.

The history of the tribe is centred chiefly in two events,—their massacre of the French settlers in their vicinity, and their subsequent destruction as a nation by the French. For thirty years after the first intercourse they lived in friendly relations with the French; and more than one author of note visited their town and chief, and wrote of their people, their temples, and their customs.

Their uprising was, as is usual in Indian warfare, sudden and unexpected. The cause, as has unfortunately too often been the case, was ill treatment by the whites. "M. du Chapart, governor of Fort Rosalie, was a man of an overbearing disposition and vindictive temper, who had made himself odious to the Indians by different acts of injustice.

Having determined to build a town, he selected, with wanton cruelty, the site of a village of the Natches, then occupied by a numerous population of unoffending people. Accordingly he directed the chiefs to remove the inhabitants, and plant them in another place. The Natches, perceiving that their ruin was resolved on, endeavored to gain time, while they effected a union among themselves and an alliance with other tribes. By the promise of a tribute for each hut, they succeeded in inducing the Commander to postpone the execution of his resolve until after the harvest. A general massacre ensued." The French, having had no reason to suspect their fidelity, allowed them to enter the fort and village in numbers sufficient to accomplish their bloody design. More than two hundred French were slain, only two of the white men, a tailor and a carpenter, being spared. Most of the women and the negro slaves were made prisoners. A few persons escaped by taking refuge in the woods, where they suffered extremely from hunger and exposure.

It was not long before retribution came. The French, aided by the Choctaws, opened war upon them and ere long drove them from their homes. They fled across the Mississippi, and erected a fortification about one hundred and eighty miles up Red River. The French, having obtained reinforcements, and not satisfied with having obliged them to flee their country, pursued and attacked them in their new station, and, after a sanguinary engagement, compelled those who had not succeeded in escaping to surrender at discretion. The Great Sun and four hundred of those taken prisoners were shipped to Hispaniola and sold as slaves. Most of the women and children were also reduced to slavery and compelled to work on the plantations. Of those who escaped, some fled further westward, some took refuge with the Chickasaws, who kindly received them, and others sought shelter amid the Creeks. Thus, before the middle of the eighteenth century had arrived, the "Sun" of the once noted Natches nation was blotted out forever; the Natches had ceased to exist as a tribe.

The customs of these Indians differed in some respects from those of any neighboring tribe. In truth, they seemed to be a somewhat peculiar people, constituting a distinct linguistic stock; and imagination is but slightly straining the data in supposing them to be an offshoot from some more advanced group which had pushed its way into the territory of the great Muskhogean family.

The following statements by Father le Petit, who speaks from personal knowledge, will convey a correct idea in brief of their temples, worship, and peculiar customs:

They have a temple filled with idols, which are different figures of men and animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, a hundred feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about four feet high, and not more than three in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above on the outside are three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding doors, where the Guardian of the Temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

In the interior of the temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are enclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims whom they had caused to be strangled, to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw bones of large fish.

One of the principal articles of their religion, particularly for the servants of the great chief, whose office was hereditary in the female line, was that of honoring his funeral rites by dying with him, that they might go to serve him in the spirit world. They were strangled with a cord of buffalo hair.

The Indians of the Muskhogean family and of the other tribes mentioned in this chapter were, with those along the

west bank of the Mississippi, noted mound builders, being equalled in this respect only by the former inhabitants of southern and central Ohio. Here we have positive history as to the tribes among which this custom prevailed, for the building and occupancy of these structures was still going on at the time of De Soto's expedition; and some, at least, were still occupied when the French appeared on the scene.

Albert Gallatin, speaking—in his celebrated *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*—of the tribes of the Gulf states east of the Mississippi, says:

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the respective population of the four great southern nations three hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, it appears certain that their habits and social state had not, during that interval, undergone any material alteration. They were probably as ferocious, but less addicted to war than the northern Indians. Those of New England, the Iroquois tribes, the Sauks and Foxes, had perhaps made equal progress in agriculture; but generally speaking the southern depended more on the cultivation of the soil and less on hunting than the Algonkin Lenape tribes. We find the Spaniards under De Soto feeding almost exclusively on maize and complaining of the want of meat.

The division of towns or villages among the Creeks into White towns and Red towns, distinguished from one another by poles of these respective colors, the white denoting peace towns, the red, war towns, was of considerable importance in deciding the policy of the nation. Whenever the question of war or peace was discussed at the general seat of government, it was the duty of the White towns to bring forth all the arguments that could be suggested in favor of peace.

CHAPTER XV

THE SIOUX AND TRIBES OF THE PLAINS

PASSING from the forest-covered areas of the Ohio valley and of Wisconsin to the great treeless and semi-arid plains of the West, we come into physical conditions so widely different from those of the forest and well-watered area as to materially modify the modes and customs of savage life. Instead of the house or wigwam, covered and lined with bark, we see the skin-covered tepee, and in place of the permanent village we find the temporary camp. In other words, we pass from people of sedentary habits to those of a semi-nomadic character. This somewhat nomadic character is probably due to the fact that the tribes which were forced upon the plains had to rely chiefly upon the buffalo for subsistence; it was therefore necessary to follow the herds in order to obtain a constant supply of food.

The principal Indians who have made these western plains their habitat are those known as the Sioux. These Indians, who form the chief division of the Siouan family, were known to the early French missionaries and explorers as "Nadowessieux," which has been abbreviated to the modern term "Sioux." The name they apply to themselves is "Dakota." The former name, which signifies "snakes" or "enemies," was applied to them by the Algonquins, and indicates the relation in which the two peoples stood toward each other. The name "Dakota" signifies "friendly" or "fraternal," and, though but a single word, has embodied

in it evidence that the group embraced a number of cognate elements.

The great Siouan stock or family, of which these Bedouins of the west formed the most numerous and important part, was divided geographically into three very unequal groups,—the eastern group of minor tribes formerly inhabiting Virginia and the Carolinas, which have been noticed in a previous chapter; a small group represented by the Biloxi, formerly residing in southern Mississippi; and the great western group. Before the material changes in location in consequence of contact with the whites, the last group spread in scattered bodies through that portion of the Dominion of Canada extending from Lake Winnipeg to Rocky Mountains; and in the United States, through or into the region embraced at present in Montana, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. However, the group occupying this broad expanse embraced several divisions of the family, one of which—the Dakotan—included the extensive Dakotas, or Sioux, and the Assiniboin; another included the Omaha, Ponka, Quapaw, Osage, and Kansa tribes; a third, the Iowa, Otoe, and Missouri tribes. Besides these were the Winnebagoes, already noticed, the strangely sedentary Mandans, in the midst of the semi-nomads, and the Hidatsa, or Crow Indians.

The missionaries, who at an early date were pushing their way into the wilds of the Northwest, eager to discover new tribes of savages on whom to bestow their labors, heard as early as 1639 or 1640—probably through Nicolet—of two nations to the west of the “Great Lake” [Superior] who were strong in numbers and of warlike disposition. One they call the Nadvesiv [Nadowessieux], the other, the Assinipour [Assiniboin]. This is the first notice of them by name; it is probable, however, that they are referred to in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1632, where it is stated that two missionaries who visited Sault Ste. Marie during that year heard of a nation—name not given—“who dwelt

eighteen days' journey to the west beyond the great lake, warlike tribes with fixed abodes, cultivators of maize and tobacco, of an unknown race and language." The reference cannot be to Algonquin tribes, but may be to the eastern Sioux—the Sissetons, Wahpetons, and Wahpekutes—residing at that time about the headwaters of the Mississippi, where Du Luth [1678] and Hennepin [1680] found some of the bands still residing at the time of their visits. The statement, however, that they were cultivators of maize is probably erroneous.

Tradition carries back the history of the group but little beyond the appearance of the French on the scene. According to a Chippewa tradition, they encountered the Dakotas at Sault Ste. Marie on their—the Chippewas'—first arrival at this point. A. L. Riggs asserts that most of these Indians with whom he conversed could trace their history no further back than to Mille Lacs; but that some could tell of wars they had with the Chippewas before they came thither, and trace their history back to the Lake of the Woods. The same writer adds that all their traditions show that they came from the northeast and have been moving toward the southwest. So far, these traditions coincide with those of other tribes; but beyond this, all, save the fact that they have been gradually pushed westward by the Chippewas, seem to be based on conjecture.

The Dakota group consisted of a number of tribes, whose order of relationship is as follows: A.—Santee, comprising: (a) Mdewakantonwan; (b) Wahpekute; B.—Sisseton; C.—Wahpeton; D.—Yankton; E.—Yanktonai; F.—Teton, comprising: (a) Brulé, or Sitscanxu; (b) Sans Arc, or Itaziptco; (c) Blackfeet, or Sihasapa; (d) Minneconjou; (e) Two Kettles, or Oohenonpa; (f) Ogalala; (g) Hunkpapa. Those residing at Mille Lacs when Du Luth and Hennepin were in that section were the two Santee bands, part of the Sissetons, and all or part of the Wahpetons. Some of the Tetons were located at that time further west on the upper Mississippi. It appears from these facts that

some bands and tribes of the group still lingered in the region of the upper Mississippi as late as 1680, the great body having previously passed outward upon the plains.

From the time of Le Sueur's visit [1700], the people of this group became an important factor in the history of the Northwest. Their gradual movement westward was due, as already intimated, to the persistent attacks of the Chipewas, who had received firearms from the French, while they were forced to rely almost wholly upon their bows and arrows. The following extract from the *Journal* of Lieutenant Gorell, an English officer, shows their condition in this respect as late as 1763:

On March 1st, 1763, twelve warriors of the Sous came here. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with fire-arms, the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods at seventy and one hundred yards distant.

On the fall of the French dominion in North America, the Dakotas at once entered into friendly relations with the English. As early as March, 1763, twelve Dakota delegates arrived at the fort on Green Bay and proffered to the English the friendship of their people. During the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, the Dakotas adhered to the English. There was, however, one chief who acquired considerable notoriety by siding with the United States in the War of 1812; this was Tahamie, called by the French "L'Original Levé," and by the English "Rising Moose," a chief of the Mdewakantonwans. He joined the Americans at St. Louis, where he was commissioned by General Clark.

By the treaties of July, 1815, peace between them and the United States was established; and by the treaty of August, 1825, the boundary lines between them and the United States and between the various tribes and groups of Indians of the Northwest were defined.

The most serious outbreak of these Indians against the whites was in 1862. The tribes concerned in this uprising

were the Mdewakantonwans, Wahpekutes, Wahpetons, and Sissetons. That these Indians had grounds of complaint must be admitted. Besides the fact that the United States had failed to carry out certain treaty stipulations as to land assignments, the following additional charges have been recorded. The rapacity of the agents, their deception and swindling of the Indians, the cheating by which the Sioux were induced to sign the treaties, the wholesale theft of their lands, the debauchery of their families by white men, and the abuse to which they were subjected by traders from whom they were obliged by the regulations to purchase goods and supplies. This is certainly a lengthy list of ugly charges, yet the present writer several years ago received evidence of the truth of some of them to the full extent charged. It is probable that the struggle in which the government was then engaged was looked upon by the Indians as a favorable opportunity to give vent to their hatred of the whites.

The outbreak began, as usual in Indian wars, by attacking the outlying settlements and murdering the unsuspecting inhabitants. It is unnecessary to give here the harrowing details; a few incidents will suffice as types. These are selected from the account by Mr. Isaac V. D. Heard, who was on the ground and acted as recorder of the military commission that tried the captured Indians.

A gentleman living near New Ulm went to the place, without any suspicion of danger. On his return, he found that the Indians had killed two of his children before their mother's eyes. They were on the point of slaying her infant, when she snatched it from them and ran to her mother's house near by. They followed, firing at her a number of times, without success. They killed her mother, her sister, and servant girl, but, strange to say, she escaped with her infant. On the father's return, he found one of his boys, twelve years old, still alive. He was cut, bruised and horribly mangled, but the father carried him safely to St. Peter's.

Another little boy was brought in still alive with a knife thrust into one of his eyes. A farmer and his two sons were working in a field, when all three were shot down by Indians. They then went to the house and killed two small children in the presence of the mother, who lay ill with

consumption. She and her daughter, thirteen years old, were dragged through the fields to their camp. There, as the mother lay helpless, her innocent child was outraged before her eyes until the little one died.

In another place, a woman was tomahawked while baking bread, her infant thrust into the flaming oven. The indignities to which weak, defenseless women and children were subjected were too horrifying to be recorded in print. No imagination can conceive them. It is better that the reader of these pages should not know them. Let it suffice that no retribution too severe could be visited upon the authors of atrocities never surpassed in the history of barbarism.—(Ellis, *Indian Wars*.)

The revolt extended throughout the entire frontier of Minnesota and into Iowa and Dakota; during the first week more than seven hundred people were killed, and over two hundred made prisoners. The authorities were fully aroused to the necessity for immediate action, but so sudden and swift had been the storm that there was no time for organization. Judge Flandreau, who had taken charge of about one hundred volunteers, marched to New Ulm, and after a sharp contest succeeded in driving off the Indians who were attacking that place. Fortunately, there were several thousand armed men in the state at this time, who had been summoned by President Lincoln to serve in the Civil War. These were hurried to the frontier, and mounted soldiers were called out by the Governor of Minnesota to assist in quelling the outbreak. Hon. H. H. Sibley was placed in command, with the rank of colonel.

The panic which reigned in Minnesota at this time, as a result of the attacks on New Ulm, Fort Ridgely, Birch Coolie, Acton, Hutchinson, and Forest City, and the massacres of settlers, is shown by the fact that people living on the outskirts of St. Paul hurriedly moved into the city. The movements of Colonel Sibley with a large force, and with a caution which showed a determination to avoid any unnecessary risk, were evidence to the Indians that the war must be brought to a close. That they were fully sensible of this is shown by the fact that scarcely was the force in motion, before Little Crow, the most prominent leader among the Sioux chiefs, managed to communicate to Colonel Sibley

his desire for peace. The Indians had a large number of captives, who were in danger of being massacred, and the object of Colonel Sibley was first to secure the safety of these and to bring the outrages to an end. By careful management and a single battle at Wood Lake, in which the loss to the whites was four killed and about fifty wounded, the revolt was brought to an end and the lives of the two hundred and fifty prisoners saved. It is a fact worth stating, as it shows the slight hold that imposed civilization has upon the Indian until long continued, that the Sioux engaged in this rebellion represented all grades of culture. Some lived in tepees covered with skins or carvas; others, in cabins or rude houses which they had built; while another portion occupied brick dwellings put up for them by the government. But neither brick houses nor civilized furniture and dress restrained or modified their nature.

Their conquest was not yet complete. By the treaty of 1867, the Sioux agreed to give up all the territory south of Niobrara River, west of the one-hundred-and-fourth meridian, and north of the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, and promised to retire to a large reservation in south-western Dakota before January 1, 1876. Meanwhile, gold was discovered in the Black Hills, in the Sioux reservation; and in spite of official warnings, emigrants and gold seekers flocked thither, and thousands gathered there in eager search for the precious metal. By way of retaliation, the Sioux left their reservation and began burning houses, stealing horses, and killing settlers in Wyoming and Montana. Generals Terry and Crook marched with a strong force of regular troops into the country of the upper Yellowstone, driving back toward Big Horn River several thousand warriors under Sitting Bull.

Generals Custer and Reno went forward with the Seventh Cavalry in order to locate the Indians, whom they found in a large village extending nearly three miles along the left bank of Little Big Horn River. General Custer directed General Reno to move to the rear of the village with three

companies, in order to make an attack in that direction while he charged the savages in front. The details of that charge are known only so far as they have been revealed by surviving Indian participants, as not an officer or a soldier of General Custer's party survived to tell the tale. According to the statement of Gall, a Sioux chief who participated in the fight, when Reno threw out a skirmish line in an effort to connect with Custer, the latter and all with him were dead. Reno, who had been engaged with the Sioux at the lower end of the encampment, held his position on the bluffs until General Gibbon arrived with reinforcements and saved the remnant of the troops. In this disaster, fifteen officers and two hundred and thirty-two men were slain. The warriors participating in this engagement were from the Ogalala, Minneconjou, Brulé, Teton, Hunkpapa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre tribes.

General Miles entered the field and started in pursuit of Sitting Bull and his company, and overtook him near the head of Cedar Creek. They met under a flag of truce, which resulted, however, in the determination of each to leave the decision to the battlefield. General Miles resolved to attack the savage host at once, though they largely outnumbered his army. He drove them back so precipitately that many of their dead were left on the field. The pursuit was kept up for nearly fifty miles, when the Sioux, in their desperate efforts to save themselves, abandoned everything, even to their ponies.

During October following this engagement, two thousand of the Indians came in and surrendered to General Miles, and five chiefs were taken as hostages for the fulfilment by the Indians of the terms of surrender, which were that they should go to their various agencies. But the leading spirit of the revolt was still at liberty; Sitting Bull had separated from the main body of Indians during their flight and fled to the north, where he was born, accompanied by other fugitives. Another battle with the Indians under Crazy Horse, which was fought in January, 1877, and a few skirmishes

during the summer, ended hostilities for a time, and peace reigned throughout Dakota and Montana.

Although Sitting Bull, who had fled to the Dominion of Canada, had returned and surrendered, it was soon apparent that he was plotting another outbreak. His arrest was ordered, in the accomplishment of which the veteran warrior and bitter enemy of the whites was slain by people of his own race.

A brief uprising occurred in 1890-1891, which, more by the skilful management of General Miles than by the force of arms, was soon quelled. The greater number of the Sioux tribes were among the hostiles at this time. When General Miles finally succeeded in gathering them at the reservation, the whites were astonished at their number, which was estimated, including women and children, at eleven thousand, of whom three thousand were warriors.

The Sioux, looking at the very best side of their character, were true, genuine savages. They may have been no more cruel in torturing their enemies and their captives than were the Iroquois and many of the Algonquin tribes; but their roving, unsettled habits and their reliance upon the chase for subsistence give to their life and customs a wild, savage character which is more or less modified among the sedentary or semi-sedentary tribes, with whom there is a semblance of home life. General Pike, writing of them in 1809, says: "I do not hesitate to pronounce them the most warlike and independent nation of Indians within the boundaries of the United States." On the other hand, Mr. J. T. Galbraith, who was the government agent among the Sioux at the outbreak of 1862, and up to this time very kindly disposed toward them, speaks of them as bigoted, barbarous, and exceedingly superstitious, regarding theft, arson, and murder as the means of distinction. He says the young Indian is taught from childhood to regard killing as the highest of virtues. In their dances and at their feasts, the warriors recite their deeds of theft and pillage and slaughter as praiseworthy acts.

Physically, the Dakota Indians do not, as a general rule, rise to the highest standard, being inferior in stature and physical proportions to the Foxes. At the time they first became known to the whites most of the tribes had passed into gentile organization; that is, descent was counted in the male line, but the tepee belonged to the woman. Tradition says they had no chiefs until the whites appeared and began to make distinctions. This, however, seems doubtful.

Closely related to and, in fact, an offshoot from the Dakota group were the Assiniboin, whose range in the latter half of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth, and until gathered on reservations, extended along Saskatchewan and Assiniboin Rivers, in the British possessions, from the forest limit westward well up toward the spurs of Rocky Mountains. These Indians, who were called by the early French missionaries and traders the "Assinipoualaks," or "Stone Warriors," were originally an offshoot from the Yanktonai tribe of the Dakota group. This separation is supposed to have taken place as late as the commencement of the seventeenth century, hence but a few years before the French began to make their way up the lakes toward this northwestern region. According to one tradition, they came into conflict with the Sioux, and took refuge among the rocks about the shores of the Lake of the Woods; hence their name "Stone Sioux" [Assiniboin].

After their separation from the parent stem, with which they were henceforth at war, they were taken under protection by the Crees, the chief Algonquin tribe north of Lake Superior. During this association, which continued without interruption until comparatively recent years, the Assiniboin rapidly increased in numbers. They appear to have gradually moved westward upon the plains, becoming to a large extent nomadic. A band of this tribe accompanied La Verendrye in his expedition of 1738 to the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri, by which the whites obtained their first knowledge of this region. As the Assiniboin

lived beyond the borders of the white settlements, their history, so far as mentioned, has been that of conflicts with surrounding tribes. Besides the Dakotas, they were frequently at war with the Gros Ventres and the Arikaras, forcing the latter to abandon their earthen villages located on the east bank of Missouri River and to select a new home further west.

At one period in the past, they had pushed their way to the south side of the Missouri, along the Yellowstone, but the persistent attacks of the Crow Indians, the Blackfeet, and the Dakotas compelled them, after suffering heavy losses, to return to their northern range. Previous to the great smallpox epidemic of 1836, the Assiniboina were estimated to number from eight to ten thousand, but this fearful scourge swept away in a single season four thousand of their population.

The men of this tribe had the singular custom of allowing their hair to grow unchecked; and as it lengthened they twisted it into locks or tails, frequently adding false hair to lengthen the tail until in some cases it reached the ground, but they generally kept it in a coil on the top of the head.

Another tribe belonging to the same Siouan stock as those described is that known as the Mandan, a people widely different in several respects from their congeners the Dakotas and the Assiniboina, and a people about whom hangs a tantalizing mystery that strongly tempts the theorizing spirit. Although dwelling in the same region as the Dakotas, they were sedentary in habits, living in villages of earth-covered lodges, cultivating the soil, and drawing largely therefrom their means of subsistence. They also manufactured earthenware, differing in all these respects from the Sioux and the Assiniboina. Why there should be this difference in fundamental customs between people of the same stock and living in the same region is a problem difficult to solve, and one which has received quite different theoretic answers. However, before alluding to these it will be well to glance at the brief history of the tribe.

The traditions regarding the early history of the Mandans are scant and almost entirely mythical. According to that best known, "the whole nation resided in one large village underground near a subterranean lake; a grape-vine extended its roots down to their habitation and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent squaw who was clambering up the vine broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun."—(Lewis and Clark.) Maximilian Wied says: "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast." The latter probably alludes to their congeners in the vicinity of Lake Superior; and as a tradition has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin of a people called "ground-house Indians," who lived in partially excavated dirt houses or lodges, this may be connected with the mythical story of their origin.

It may, perhaps, be assumed as probable that they formerly resided in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Mississippi, and from there moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri, during which migration they came in contact with maize-growing people. The fact that, when first encountered by the whites, they cultivated the soil, and were lower down the Missouri, would justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practised.

The history of their migrations, which is tantamount to their story, begins with their arrival at Missouri River. The point where they first reached this stream was at the mouth of White Earth River in South Dakota. From this point

they moved up the Missouri to Moreau River. Here they came in contact with the Cheyennes. From this point they next moved up stream to Heart River, where they were residing at the time they were first visited by the white man—Sieur de la Verendrye, in 1738. In 1750, they were living in nine villages about this point. Having been reduced by the attacks of other Indians, they were finally collected in two villages in 1776, which were still occupied at the time they were visited by Lewis and Clark, in 1804, being reduced from sixteen hundred souls to less than one hundred and fifty. In 1872, a large reservation was set apart for the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes in Montana, along Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

The Mandan villages were assemblages of clay-covered huts, placed close to one another, without regard to order. Anciently, these were surrounded with palisades of strong posts. The huts were circular, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance, and in the centre of the roof was a square opening for the exit of smoke from the central fire. In the interior were four strong pillars toward the middle, with several crossbeams, supporting the roof. The outer circumference was formed by from eleven to fifteen posts, four or five feet high, from which rafters ran to the inner scaffolding. The outside was covered with a matting of osiers, over which was placed a covering of hay or grass and over this a covering of earth. The Mandans cultivated maize, beans, gourds, and the sunflower.

Closely related to the preceding Indians, and generally in close association with them, were the Minnitarees, or Hidatsas, a small tribe having similar habits and customs, and with a history, so far as known, differing but little from that of the Mandans. There are some reasons for supposing that the two tribes belong to a group of Siouan tribes of which the Winnebago may be considered the original stem. Another tribe which cultivated the soil, resided in the same section, and had similar customs to the two just mentioned, was that known as the Arikara; the latter was,

however, ethnically distinct from the former, being a branch of the Pawnee or Caddoan family. In this, as in the other two tribes, each family had a small field or plat of two or three acres, which was cultivated in maize, beans, and squashes. During the time of seeding and cultivating, and until the crop was harvested, the Indians were sedentary, remaining in their villages; the remainder of the year was devoted chiefly to wandering over their hunting grounds, carrying with them their tents of skins, which furnished them shelter until they returned to their fixed abodes. The people of these sedentary tribes were not of a warlike disposition.

The area occupied by the Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Ponka, Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes may be roughly described as extending from northeastern Nebraska to the mouth of Arkansas River. The movements in the past of these tribes, as given in well-authenticated traditions, and fortified by other proved data, afford, perhaps, the best available key to the early history of the great Siouan family.

Although these eight tribes have been classified in two linguistic groups by Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, a recognized authority on the subject, the first three in one group, and the last five in another, yet, according to the same authority, the two groups were related to one another, and both to the Winnebagoes. Dr. Horatio Hale asserts, from evidence furnished by Mr. Dorsey, "that these tribes speak of the Winnebagoes [or Hotchungara] as their uncle, and declare that their own tribes were originally offshoots from the Winnebagoes," which derivation, he said, he did not doubt.

A brief notice of one form of the tradition regarding the early movements of these tribes has been given; but as originally obtained by Mr. Say, the naturalist, he renders it as follows, in speaking of the Otoe: "It thus appears, that their name has been adopted subsequently to the migration and partition of the great nation, of which they were formerly but a band. This great nation, they say, originally

resided somewhere to the northward of the great lakes, and on their emigration southwardly, after performing a considerable journey, a large band of them, called 'Horage' or Fisheaters from their fondness of fish, separated from the main body, and established their residence on the margin of a lake. This band is now known by the name of Winnebagoes. During the journey of the great nation, another band separated from them on the Mississippi and received the name of 'Pahoja' or Gray Snow, which they still retain, but are known to the white people by the name of Ioways, or Aiouez. They have, however, been distinguished by the name of Pierced-noses, as this was erroneously believed to be the meaning of the word Pahoja; and it will be confessed that the distinction is somewhat nice, when we learn that the true word for pierced nose is paoja.

"Another band seceded from the migrating nation and established a village at the mouth of the Missouri river; from which circumstance they received the name of Neotacha or Neogehe, signifying 'those who build a town at the entrance of a river;' they have been known to us only by the name of Missouri.

"The Otos also separated from the nation at the Mississippi, and pursuing their journey across the country from that river, struck the Missouri near the confluence of the Great Nemawhaw."

The tradition, as communicated by an Otoe chief to Major Bean, Indian agent, and recorded by Maximilian Wied, is virtually the same, only differing in having the Missouris receive their name from their stoppage, as is more likely, at the mouth of Grand River instead of the mouth of the Missouri. An Iowa chief, while in Washington in 1824 with a delegation, distinctly asserted the former union of his tribe with "the Winnebagoes and Otoes." Miss Fletcher, who has spent much time among the Omahas, heard from them the same tradition.

As this relationship is confirmed by language,—the Winnebagoes holding the same relation to these western

tribes, according to Dr. Hale, as the Mohawks bear to the western Iroquois nations,—the present writer suggests that the migrations of the tribes may be traced from some place north of Green Bay. The theory, therefore, that the Siouan tribes migrated from some eastern locality, as advocated by Dr. D. G. Brinton (*American Race*, 98. 1891) and others, does not appear to be based on sufficient grounds. Nor is there a single early tradition, as first given, that “points to an eastern origin.” That most of the tribes of the Northwest were forced westward after the introduction of firearms, some of them upon the plains, is true, but this furnishes no proof of an eastern origin. That the Sioux should have migrated from the rich agricultural lands of the Ohio valley, in large part, to the north side of the middle lakes and thence west into Wisconsin is incredible. The supposition of Catlin that the Mandans had reached the valley of the Missouri by travelling down the Ohio is mere speculation induced by the fancied resemblance of the earthworks of Ohio to the turf-covered structures of the Mandans, and by the fact that the latter cultivated the soil. The tradition of a Siouan tribe on the lower Ohio will be referred to on a future page.

The history of the Ponkas is brief, consisting chiefly of their migrations from point to point, and of a comparatively quiet and uneventful life on reservations. They appear to have moved up Des Moines River and thence to the vicinity of Pipestone Quarry, in western Minnesota, being joined there by the Iowas. After various other movements, generally in company with the Iowas and Omahas, they finally settled on the lower Niobrara River, Nebraska. They built earth lodges, and cultivated the soil to some extent. The tribe was comparatively small, not exceeding at any time a population of seven or eight hundred.

The Omahas are closely related to the Ponkas, the difference between their languages being merely dialectic. From the signification of the name, which is “going against

the current," or "up stream," Mr. Dorsey, taking into account an Osage tradition of a movement up Missouri River, infers that this movement is referred to. According to his interpretation of the tradition, the Osage, Kansa, Omaha, and Ponka tribes were yet combined when this movement up the Missouri began, the fifth tribe, the Quapaw, having left the main body at the mouth of Missouri River and not at the mouth of the Ohio. When the mouth of Osage River was reached, the Osages settled on this river; the Kansas continued up the Missouri; and the Omaha and Ponka tribes left the Missouri and, having joined the Iowas, travelled across Iowa into Minnesota until they reached Pipestone Quarry, near Sioux Falls. They were driven from this locality by the Dakota tribes, and passed into Dakota, going up Missouri River as far as White River, where the Omahas and Iowas remained until the Ponkas, who had moved westward to the vicinity of the Black Hills, returned. Then the three tribes moved down stream and separated at Niobrara River, the Ponkas settling on this stream, and the Omahas going to Bow Creek, where it is probable they were when noted on Marquette's map [1673]. The latter subsequently occupied the country in Nebraska between Covington on the north and Nemaha River on the south, about 1800. They were at Bellevue, in the same state, in 1845, and in 1855 removed to what was formerly Blackbird County, also in Nebraska.

The movement of the Omaha and cognate tribes, as given above, is, so far as the part preceding 1800 is concerned, from the traditions as obtained by Mr. Dorsey. It is in part confirmed by Le Sueur, who mentions the Iowas as leaving southeastern Minnesota at the time of his visit [1700], and going to the region of Pipestone Quarry, where they were joined by the Omahas. The traveller Carver mentions having met some Omaha Indians on Minnesota River in 1766, at which time they were in friendly relations with the Sioux. When Lewis and Clark

met the tribe in 1804, they numbered only about three hundred, having been reduced by the smallpox to less than one-fifth their former population. According to the census of 1880 their number was twelve hundred. In 1882, they became citizens of the United States and ceased to be a tribe.

The primitive dwellings of the Omahas were chiefly earth lodges, or more rarely of bark or mats, and skin tents. The earth lodges were intended principally for summer use, when the people were sedentary and cultivating their crops. The skin tents were used when on their hunting expeditions.

The Osages, another tribe of the same division of the Siouan family as the preceding, having travelled with the Omahas and Kansas up the Missouri, as stated, separated from them at the mouth of Osage River. The region of the latter river was for many years their country. Subsequently they moved up Osage River to near its source, thence they passed southwest into southern Kansas, near the middle of the state. From there they moved next to the reservation assigned them in Indian Territory. According to the early French explorers, the tribe was residing in 1686 in seventeen villages located along Osage River. They are located on the same river in Moll's map of 1712, and Lewis and Clark locate them on the same river in 1804. By 1818 they had passed over to the basin of Neosho River. Their history, like that of most other Indians of the west, consists chiefly of their migrations, and of their warfare and contests with other tribes. It is known that they were often at war with the Sacs, and it was chiefly in fights with the Osages that Black Hawk won the notoriety that placed him at the head of his tribe.

Although the Osages were largely agricultural and disposed to be sedentary, they were almost constantly in broils with the neighboring tribes. The chieftaincy was nominally hereditary; and their government was in practice oligarchical, though it was nominally vested in a council.

The most southern Indians of the Siouan group we have been considering were the Quapaws, whose home, until they were placed upon a reservation, was in what is now the state of Arkansas. Our knowledge of this tribe extends back to the time of De Soto's expedition [1540-1541], as this was the tribe he first came into conflict with after crossing the Mississippi. Traditionally, the history of these Indians is connected with that of the other tribes of the group which, parting from the Winnebagoes, as already mentioned, moved southwest to their historic homes. There is, however, an additional, and apparently well founded, tradition relating to this tribe which does not apply to other members of the group. When the French first came in contact with this people in the latter part of the seventeenth century, they were designated by the name "Akansea," or "Akansa," which is supposed to have been an older Quapaw term. When the early French explorers descended the Mississippi, some of them, particularly Jacques Gravier, learned from the Indians that the river we now call Ohio was sometimes—in that part of its course below the mouth of the Wabash, then known as the Ouabache—called the Akansea, because, as they affirmed, the tribe had at some time in the past—it must have been before the time of De Soto's expedition—resided on this stream.

It was not until about one hundred and thirty years after De Soto's visit that the French appeared upon the scene. They found the Akanseas located in several villages in eastern Arkansas, immediately, or a short distance, north of Arkansas River. The name "Kappa"—which afterward became "Quapaw"—was for a time applied to a town and then to a division of the tribe. Nuttall says that the people called "Arkansa" by Charlevoix were then [1761] made up of confederated remnants of ruined tribes.

Soon after this date, as the whites began settlements on the Mississippi, these Indians moved further up Arkansas River, ultimately passing on westward into the Caddo country on Red River of Louisiana, where they were residing

in 1829. In 1877, they were on the reservation assigned to them in the northeast corner of Indian Territory. Subsequently, most of them moved to the Osage reserve, where the remaining few are still living.

The Quapaws have not figured to any considerable extent in history. They were always on friendly terms with the French, receiving the missionaries with indications of pleasure; and they have also been almost uniformly in peaceful relations with the people of the United States. They had dwindled in number from about five hundred in 1843 to one hundred and ninety-eight, all told, in 1890.

Other peoples of the plains whose history should find a place in this connection are the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, the most nomadic tribes of the great Algonquian family. As the two tribes have long been united, the history of one is the history of both. They were, until brought upon reservations, a restless, wandering people, making their homes in tents or tepees, claiming as their territory the region about the North and South Forks of Platte River, but ranging over the plains from Powder River to the Arkansas. They lived at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Black Hills and upon Cheyenne River in Dakota.

Their separation from their kindred in the northeast and gradual shifting to the southwest are attributed by Lewis and Clark to the pressure of the Siouan tribes. What little is known of their history other than their wanderings relates to recent years, and to their contests with neighboring tribes and the whites. "As a tribe they have been broken and scattered, but in their wild and savage way they fought well for their country. Their later history has been written in blood. Innocent settlers have suffered cruel outrages at their hands; women and children have suffered horrible deaths at their hands, and burning houses have marked their pathway of destruction. But they in turn have been hunted like wolves and been shot down like wild beasts."—(Grinnell.) Their number, however, is still considerable, the report of the Indian Office for 1902 showing the present

population of the combined tribes to be a little over five thousand.

The geographical positions of the various families of the eastern part of the United States, and their outlying or separated divisions, are, so far as they are included therein, indicated in Map B and explained in its accompanying list.

CHAPTER XVI

TRIBES OF THE FAR NORTHWEST

CONTINUING our examination of the Indian tribes east of the Rocky Mountain range, there remain those of north-western British Columbia and one or two tribes near the extreme headwaters of Missouri River to be considered before passing to the west of the great divide. In following this course, we are at the same time keeping close in line with the two great primary ethnic divisions of our continent. The eastern range of Rocky Mountains from the Rio Grande northward, until Alaska is reached, forms, in a general way, the dividing line between these two ethnic divisions, the one important exception to this rule being found in one of the groups to be noticed in this chapter.

One of the most extensive tribes formerly inhabiting the region around the southern extremity and southwest of Hudson's Bay was that known as the Crees, but variously termed in the early writings the Cristeneaux, Knisteneaux, Klistenos, etc. The territorial limits of this group do not appear to have been clearly defined by any explorers who visited the region before the Indian distribution was disturbed by the influx of the whites. However, from notices of them at different points it is known that their hunting grounds extended from Moose River, which enters James Bay, northwest to Churchill or Missinippi River; and west from the vicinity of Hudson's Bay to the head of Beaver River and thence south to the hunting grounds of the

Dakotas. "This statement," says Dr. Brinton, "that 'the Crees dwelt along the southern shores of Hudson's Bay and followed the streams which flow into it from the west' is clearly in accordance with the earliest reliable reports obtained by the French, and the more exact modern investigations."

This tribe is a typical member of the Algonquian stock, and, as was suggested more than half a century ago, is possibly the most direct representative of the original form of that stock; and, until gathered on reservations, had remained nearest the pristine home of the group. Because of the close relationship of the Montagnais and Nascapes to the Crees, it has been maintained by Mackenzie and some other writers that the people of this tribe at some former period resided in the region east of Ottawa River, from which section they gradually moved westward, pushing their way to the west side of the bay. The traditions claimed by some authors to have been current among the western Algonquins, and mentioned by Sir John Richardson (*Journal of a Boat Voyage*) in speaking of the supposed origin of the Crees, that their ancestors came from the eastern coast, probably arose from the westward movement induced by the Iroquois raids and the pressure by the whites, together with the transfer of the tradition of a residence near salt or tide water from Hudson's Bay, to which it originally applied, to the Atlantic Ocean.

The opinion most consistent with the data is that the pristine home of the Crees was west of Hudson's Bay, and that the Montagnais and Nascapes are offshoots which in the past separated from them and moved eastward. As mentioned in a previous chapter [X.], the Nascapes have a tradition that they migrated from the western shore of Hudson's Bay. Dr. Hayden (*Ethnography of the Indian Tribes of Missouri Valley*) says the Crees assert that formerly they inhabited a district much further north than at the date he was writing [1865], their range at that former period being along the borders of Slave and Athapasca

Lakes to the northern end of Lake Winnipeg, and stretching along the Saskatchewan by a chain of small lakes in the direction of Hudson's Bay, though never reaching the latter.

The relation of the Crees to the Chippewas is so intimate, as shown by language and other proofs, that by some authorities the latter tribe is spoken of as a division of the former, and by others, as Dr. Hayden, the former tribe is counted a division of the latter. Historically, the northern Chippewas—those north of Lake Superior—and the Crees might be, and by some explorers have been, treated as one people; here, however, they are distinguished.

At some time in the not very distant past, as heretofore mentioned, the Assiniboina broke away from their Sioux [Dakota] kindred and sought alliance with the Crees. The latter received them with open arms and granted them a home in the Cree territory, and thus was formed a friendly relation between the two which has continued down to the present day. Although Sir John Richardson does not give the Crees credit for great bravery, yet when they had been strengthened by the addition of the Assiniboina, who were warlike and brave, they turned their arms against the Blackfeet and allied tribes, who were then dwelling along the banks of the Saskatchewan, and drove them to the southwest. The enmity between these combined tribes and the Blackfeet, as well as between them and the Sioux, with whom they were in an almost constant state of warfare, continued down to the time when they were gathered on reservations.

After obtaining firearms, the Crees made frequent war raids into the very heart of the Athapascan country, even to Rocky Mountains and as far northwest as Mackenzie River; but Missinippi River and the line thence eastward, as mentioned by Mackenzie, was counted as the extreme limit of their territory, and in their cessions of land to Canada they never claimed beyond this line. Mackenzie further informs us that the general movement of the

Athapascan tribes has been from some more northwestern section, apparently on or near the Pacific coast, and they were, even as late as his day, looked upon as comparative strangers in the country they then inhabited. Richardson (Franklin's *Journey to the Polar Sea*), writing about 1850, says: "The Crees, having early obtained arms from the European traders, were enabled to make harassing inroads on the lands of their neighbors and are known to have made war excursions as far to the westward as the Rocky Mountains, and to the northward as far as Mackenzie's river, but their enemies being now as well armed as themselves, the case is much altered." Mackenzie, speaking of the region of the Missinippi, says the original people of this area were driven out by the Knisteneaux, but "who this original people were that were driven from it when conquered by the Knisteneaux is not known, as not a single vestige of them remains. The latter and the Chepewyans [Athapascans] are the only people that have been known here; and it is evident that the last mentioned consider themselves as strangers, and seldom remain longer than three or four years without visiting their relations and friends in the barren grounds which they term their native country." From knowledge obtained since Mackenzie's day, we are justified in assuming that these unknown people were the Blackfeet or their congeners, or possibly the Sarcees.

The Crees, though largely nomadic, were, like their congeners the Chippewas, essentially a woods people, and were only drawn out upon the plains through the desire to reach the buffalo herds and obtain an abundant supply of food. According to Lacombe, the author of a dictionary of their language, and one thoroughly acquainted with them, they were, at a period not remote, chiefly about Red River of the North and largely intermingled with the Chippewas and Maskegons. The Plains Crees then "separated from their allies because of the great distance to the buffalo. They advanced toward the plains on the north branch of the Saskatchewan river and ultimately expelled the fearless

Blackfeet, who in olden times had struck their tents on the north side of that river."

As the people of the Cree tribe have been friendly from their first intercourse with both the French and English, and until quite recently were left comparatively undisturbed in the enjoyment of their territory, their history has few records; and these consist almost wholly of notices of their contests with neighboring tribes, and of their relations with the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1776 or 1786,—precise year uncertain,—these Indians, as well as those of neighboring tribes, were reduced to less than one-half of their previous numbers by the smallpox. The same disease again swept off one-half the prairie tribes in 1838. In more recent years, when game became scarce, they lived chiefly in scattered bands, depending for existence upon trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. At present they are gathered, generally in bands, on various reservations.

Their character and characteristics have been reported in such directly opposite terms,—some authors speaking of them as degraded, filthy, and dishonest, while others describe them as neat, faithful, and honest,—that we will not attempt to decide which is correct, but refer to their industrial pursuits and manufactures. The utensils and weapons in use among them before being displaced by those of the whites were pots of stone, flint implements, knives of the buffalo hump rib, fishhooks from sturgeon bones, and awls from the bones of the moose; the fibres of the root of the pine tree were, until comparatively recent times, used as twine for sewing together their bark canoes; a kind of thread from a weed they called "sha-a-hupp" was used for making nets; spoons were made out of the horns of the moose. They are described by an old Jesuit missionary [1670] as a people "without maize or fields, who have no permanent dwellings, but are wandering incessantly in the great forests in order to live by the chase." One band is described as living almost wholly on hares, hence they stay but a short time in any one place; yet Henry, who was trading in their country,

informs us in his *Narrative* that he advanced goods to them on credit in considerable quantities, and found them honest and faithful in keeping their promises.

Sir John Richardson, writing about 1850, says:

It is from among the Eythinyuwuk that most of the servants of the Fur Companies, who have married native women, have selected their wives; few of them having chosen Chepewyan females, and no one I believe an Eskimo maiden. From these marriages a large half-breed population has arisen, which will ere long work a change in the fur trade, and in the condition of the whole native population. In character, the half-breeds vary according to their paternity; the descendants of the Orkney labourers, in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, being generally steady, provident agriculturists of the Protestant faith; while the children of the Roman Catholic Canadian voyagers have much of the levity and thoughtlessness of their fathers, combined with that inability to resist temptation, which is common to the two races from whence they are sprung. Most of the half-breeds have been settled by the Hudson's Bay Company in the colony of Osnaboya, which extends for fifty miles along the banks of the Red River of Lake Winnipeg. Of the six thousand souls, to which the mixed population of this settlement is said to amount, three-fifths are stated by Mr. Simpson to be Roman Catholics; while the valuable property is mostly in the hands of the remaining two-fifths, who own sixteen out of eighteen wind and water mills, erected within the precincts of the colony.

The settlement is under the government (it can scarcely be said the control) of a governor, council and recorder, all nominated by the Hudson's Bay Company. The recorder is the civil and criminal judge, presides at jury trials, and is aided by justices of the peace, and a constabulary in the Company's pay.—(*Op. cit.*, ii, 54-55.)

The division of the Crees into the "Woods Crees" and the "Plains Crees" had no reference to ethnic relations. There were, however, ethnical divisions, which, so far as is known to-day, were Crees in the most restricted sense: Maskegons, or "Swampy Crees," and Monsonis.

Although the Maskegons are sometimes treated as a distinct tribe, there is scarcely a doubt that the proper classification of the group is that of a division or subtribe of the Crees. The very close relation they bear to the other Crees is clearly recognized, as is apparent from the name "Swampy Crees" applied to them by traders. Sir

John Richardson, in the *Journal* of his Arctic expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, says the name "Kilistino" was applied anciently to the Maskegons, whom he considers a branch of the Crees. On the other hand, Warren, the author of a *History of the Ojibways*, classes them as an offshoot of the Ojibwas [Chippewas]. According to the latter writer, they, with the Crees and Monsonis, form the northern division of the Chippewa group, which is probably correct, using the term "group" in the broad or generic sense, the only question being as to whether the group should be considered Cree or Chippewa. However, the whole may be considered historically as one people, forming in the aggregate the most populous group of any stock east of Rocky Mountains.

Since the Maskegons became known as a distinct band or division, and until brought into reservations by the Canadian government, they were scattered over the swampy region stretching from Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods to Hudson's Bay, including the basins of Nelson, Hays, and Severn Rivers; and extending their southern border to the watershed north of Lake Superior. They have generally been on friendly relations with the whites, so far as there has been intercourse between the two peoples.

The Monsonis, or "Moose Indians," formed a small division of the Crees. The first notice of them is found in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1671-1672, according to which they were then located on the shores of James Bay, about the mouth of Moose River. They are mentioned as late as 1884 in the *Official Canadian Report on Indian Affairs* for that year, where they are included with the "Indians of Eastern Rupert's Land."

Belonging also to the Algonquian family are the Black-foot Indians, who should not be overlooked even in a brief notice of the northwestern tribes. Although presenting but few important incidents in their history, they have in several ways come prominently into notice, chiefly, however, through the visits of literary characters to their camps.

Their Indian name, Siksika, is the equivalent of their English name, and is applied to a confederacy and also to a particular tribe. The confederacy or group includes the Blackfeet proper, the Kino or Blood Indians, and the Pie-gans. Their country, until they were placed upon reservations, was northern Montana and the adjacent portions of the British possessions, extending from Rocky Mountains on the west to the junction of Milk River with the Missouri on the east; and north and south from Musselshell River in Montana to Belly and south Saskatchewan Rivers in British territory. They are now gathered on reservations in these limits.

Their history and traditions also indicate a northern origin. When they were first encountered by employ  s of the Hudson's Bay Company they were living along Saskatchewan River and its northern tributaries. Soon after this, apparently on account of attacks by the Crees, they began to move south and west, and not long thereafter came into possession of horses, taken in war from their southern enemies, among whom were the Crows and Snakes. Up to this time, that is, early in the nineteenth century, the Pie-gans, the most southern tribe of the confederacy, had seldom crossed St. Mary's River to the south, except during war expeditions. As soon, however, as they were supplied with guns by the traders, they moved southward in a body, driving before them all hostile Indians encountered. By 1816, aided only by the Gros Ventres, who had joined them, they had conquered a large territory from the Assiniboins, Crows, Snakes, Flatheads, and other tribes. Their hunting ground extended from the Saskatchewan to the Yellowstone.

According to Grinnell, the Blackfeet had at this time come into friendly relations with the Crees. It is this author who says: "Inquiries extended over two or three seasons, established the existence of a tradition of the northern origin and a migration from the ancient home, . . . There are many men [among them] who know that long ago

this people lived north of Red Deer River, and who are aware of the later southern migration. Those who go farthest back claim that the original home of the tribe was much further north, and that they lived in the country north of the Lesser Slave Lake and next south of the Beaver Indians." This tradition is fortified by their terms for the cardinal points, by the names applied to them by the Crees, by evidences that they were formerly inhabitants of a timbered country, and by the recollection of their first arrival at Rocky Mountains through or from a timbered region. Their intimate association with the Sarcees, an Athapascan tribe, who certainly came from this northern region, is another link in this chain of evidence.

As these Indians never lived in immediate contact with white settlements before going upon reservations, there is little to be said in regard to their history further than that which relates to their wars with surrounding tribes. The following from Grinnell's *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* gives the closing summary: "They had conquered and driven out from the territory which they occupied the tribes who once inhabited it, and maintained a desultory and successful warfare against all invaders, fighting with the Crees on the north, the Assiniboin on the east, the Crows on the south, and the Snakes, Kalispels, and Kutenais on the southwest and west. In those days the Blackfeet were rich and powerful. The buffalo fed and clothed them, and they needed nothing beyond what nature supplied. This was their time of success and happiness. Crowded into a little corner of the great territory which they once dominated, and holding this corner by an uncertain tenure, a few Blackfeet still exist, the pitiful remnant of a once mighty people. Huddled together about their agencies, they are facing the problem before them, striving helplessly, but bravely, to accommodate themselves to the new order of things; trying in the face of adverse surroundings to wrench themselves loose from their accustomed ways of life; to give up inherited habits and form new ones; to break away

from all that is natural to them, from all that they have been taught,—to reverse their whole mode of existence. They are striving to earn their living, as the white man earns his, by toil."

The Blackfeet were polygamists; nevertheless, until recently they observed the custom of not marrying within the gens. This custom, however, has to a large extent died out during the last forty or fifty years. When a man died, his wives became the potential wives of his eldest brother. His property, except that which had been absolutely given to his wives or belonged to them, went to his sons; or if there were no sons, to his brothers; if there were no brothers, then to the nearest male relatives on the father's side. Formerly each gens was governed by its own chief, and the head chief was chosen by the chiefs of the gentes. No office was hereditary, the chiefs being selected because of their bravery and generosity. The power of the head chief was limited and chiefly advisory.

Although it is said traditionally that in remote times they made houses of mud, sticks, and stones, the ordinary skin lodge appears to have long been their only dwelling.

Passing now toward the distant north, beyond Churchill River to the region about Lake Athapasca and thence to Great Bear Lake, we come in contact with Indian tribes belonging to the Athapascan or Déné [Tinneh] stock. This group, which touches on its northern extremity the little Eskimo tribes that fringe the Arctic coast, has in one respect no parallel except in the great Nahuatl stock of Mexico and Central America; that is, in regard to its immense north and south extension, reaching from the vicinity of the Arctic Ocean to the interior of northern Mexico. "No other aboriginal stock in North America, perhaps not even excepting the Algonquins," says Father Morice, who has passed the greater part of his life in their midst, "covers so great an extent as the Déné. The British Isles, France and Spain, Italy and any two or three of the minor European commonwealths taken together, would

hardly represent the area of the region occupied by that large family. And yet it is no exaggeration to say that few American races are less known than the Northern Dénés, who in point of territory constitute the main bulk of the whole nation. West of the Rocky Mountains, they are to be found from latitude $51^{\circ} 30'$ to the borders of the Eskimo tribes, while on the east side of the range they people the immense plains and forests which extend from the northern Saskatchewan down [northward] almost to the delta of Mackenzie River." From east to west they roam over nearly the entire breadth of land from the Pacific Ocean to Hudson's Bay. However, the Indians of this area constitute but one of the groups of this great family. It is represented by a number of small tribes scattered along or in the vicinity of the Pacific coast in Oregon and California; and by the various Navajo and Apache tribes of Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. Brief mention of the latter tribes has already been made, but there will be more to say in regard to them further on, our attention being directed at present to the northern group.

The Indians of this group are of more than ordinary interest to the ethnologist, as the habitats of the various offshoots show beyond question, notwithstanding the larger portion of the northern group is found east of the Rocky Mountain range, that the family belongs, essentially, to what we have termed the western or Pacific division.

The Indians of this northern group are divided, according to the most recent information, into some thirteen tribes, three of which, the Chilcotins, Carriers, and Nahanes, reside in Alaska on the western side of Rocky Mountains. The Sekanis live in the range. East of the mountains, about Lake Athapasca, are the Chipewyans [Athapascans proper] and Cariboo-eaters; the Beavers are located on Peace River; the Yellow-knives, northeast of Great Slave Lake; the Dog-ribs, between Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes; the Slaves, west of Great Slave Lake; and the Hares, on Mackenzie River. Furthest north, next to the scattered Eskimo, from

Mackenzie River westward, are the Loucheux—or Kutchins—the most populous tribe of the entire group. The Sarcees, already mentioned, were also Athapascans.

The northern Athapascans, or, more correctly, Dénés, had, until recently, very little intercourse with the whites, the contact being limited to their fur-trading relations with the Hudson's Bay Company, and an occasional visit of an explorer. Their history is confined to a record of their relations with other tribes, and of their own tribes with one another. It is known that, from the first acquaintance of the whites with them, they carried on a desultory warfare with the Crees and other tribes living south of them; and that those living on the lower Mackenzie River were almost constantly at war with the Eskimo, though this was a petty warfare consisting of contests between or attacks by small bands or parties. Sir John Richardson tells us, alluding to the several western Kutchin tribes, in his *Journal* [1850] that by these intertribal feuds "one-half the population of the banks of the Yukon has been cut off within the last twenty years."

The form of government, among most of the tribes, was very crude and imperfect. According to Sir John Richardson, order was maintained among the Chipewyans solely by public opinion; no one was clothed with authority for this purpose. Superior powers of mind and skill in hunting sufficed to cause a few to be chosen as chiefs, under whose guidance a greater or smaller number of families placed themselves, forming bands; a chief was therefore considered great or small according to the number of his adherents. This relation, however, had no other binding force than mutual advantage. The chief did not assume the power to punish crimes or regulate conduct, his duty being to arrange the movements of his band, choose the hunting grounds, collect provisions, purchase ammunition, and act as the medium of intercourse and commerce with the traders. In later years, previous to the discovery of gold and to the recent regulations of the Canadian government,

the title of chief was not fully established until it had been recognized at the English fort to which the chosen man was accustomed to resort for trading. Among the Carriers, or Tacullies, any man might become a chief by providing occasionally a village feast; but his authority was merely nominal, though a malefactor would be secure from harm so long as he was harbored in the chief's dwelling. The people of this tribe were largely sedentary and gathered in regular villages, each village having its own territory, the boundaries being understood and respected. Slavery was common among them, and all possessed slaves who could afford them.

The Nahanes usually passed the summer in the vicinity of the seacoast, scouring the interior during the winter for furs. They seem to have had some kind of recognized ruler, as it appears that at one time they were governed by a woman, who, it is said, had unbounded influence over her subjects, though they were considered the most warlike and turbulent of the northern Dénés.

The Kutchins, or Loucheux, are spoken of as the most noble and manly people of the northern group; nevertheless, they have hardly any government, their chiefs, who are elected on account of their wealth or ability, having limited authority. Crimes, including murder, are compounded for. They are divided into gentes, the rule prevailing here, as in other tribes of the group, that marriage must be between a man and woman of different gentes. The mother, as is usual in such social systems, gives caste to the children, hence the father can never be of the same totem as his children. Of the northern group, the most southern tribe is the Sarcees [Sarsis], an offshoot from the Beaver tribe, from which they broke away about a hundred years ago and lived for a time on the upper Saskatchewan; but they finally migrated southward and joined the Blackfeet, with whom they have remained.

Before referring to the groups further south, notice of that singular hyperborean people known as the Eskimo or

Innu it will be appropriate here as following the notice of their nearest neighbors. The Eskimo are a strange and, it may be truly added, a mysterious people, if to be an insolvable riddle constitutes a mystery. The questions as to their original habitat, the cause of their selecting the inhospitable coasts of the far north as their dwelling place, and their racial affinities, have been the subjects of frequent discussions, but with widely different conclusions. For a time, it was claimed for them that they were the anomalous race of America, and were not counted as Indians. This theory has been abandoned by several ethnologists, who now include them in the "Indian" or "American" race, as a somewhat widely divergent family. Again, they have been looked upon by some able authorities as the only people of the New World clearly identical with any race of the Old; while, on the contrary, it is asserted that: "The closest observers report the physical traits of the Eskimos as thoroughly American and not Asian, as has sometimes been alleged." Notwithstanding this statement, concurred in by more than one able authority, the most recent tendency of opinion based on later investigations is toward the view that they are a widely divergent group of the American race.

The Eskimo are essentially a littoral people, occupying a narrow strip of coast for five thousand miles around the northern part of the continent. Commencing at Straits of Belle Isle, they occupy—or have occupied—the Labrador coast to East Main, Hudson's Bay; both shores of Greenland, and the islands between it and the continent; and along the west side of Baffin's Bay and Davis Strait. On the mainland, along the west side of Hudson's Bay north of Churchill River, thence northward through the Welcome to Fury and Hecla Straits; thence along the Arctic coast to Behring Strait, and along the Pacific coast nearly to Mount St. Elias. They also occupy the Aleutian Islands, and a small offshoot is found on the Asiatic side. This lengthy strip inhabited by a single

stock speaking substantially the same language is without a parallel.

The Eskimo were the first native inhabitants of the New World with whom the European navigators came in contact. Greenland, where they were first seen, is said to have been discovered about the close of the ninth century. The supposition, which has so generally obtained, that people of this family at the time of these early visits lived as far south as Massachusetts, or even as "the mouth of Delaware river," is not based on satisfactory evidence; there is, in fact, no justifiable reason for assuming that they ever lived south of the St. Lawrence.

Dr. Brinton believed them to "belong in history and character to the Atlantic peoples"; nevertheless, ethnically and linguistically they appear to be more closely affiliated to the Pacific group. Their history consists of little more than accounts of occasional visits of explorers to some part of their extended country and the information gathered during such visits. And these relate to the petty warfare of little tribes with neighboring bands and to their own domestic history, including their customs, beliefs, etc.

The remarkable uniformity in language and physical characteristics and customs throughout the vast stretch of Eskimo territory seems to indicate a comparatively recent dispersion, for otherwise this uniformity is difficult to account for. Ratzel (*History of Mankind*) advances the following opinion on this point:

After an American population was already fully developed in more southerly regions, the north got peopled not merely by the advance of the Indian tribes. A later and special immigration from the borderlands of Asia and America must have exercised an influence there. Mongoloid features are so recognizable in the character and bodily conformation of the Eskimo, that attempts have been made to separate him entirely from the Indian ethnologically. Eskimo, too, are settled on the northern coasts of Asia, while they first appeared in Greenland possibly within the historical era, and there is much in their stock of culture to induce a comparison of them with the Asiatic Hyperboreans, nay, even to remind us of the European. Nevertheless, we connect

them here with the Indians, as it seems too hazardous to rank them with the true Mongoloids. But North-East Asia is unquestionably a region of transition which finds its continuation in northern America.

The same author describes their physical characters as follows:

The bodily frame of the Eskimo shows but little variation in different districts. His skull is long and high. It should be noted that the Chukchi head is short, the northern Indian of not more than average length. The facial expression is determined by a strong development of the jaws and maxillary muscles, and a considerable distance between the inner angles of the eyes, as well as between the eyebrows and the apertures of the lids, also by pretty well-marked prognathism. The slit eyes and the position of the cheek-bones are Mongoloid. The true Eskimo have black hair, dark eyes, and reddish or yellowish brown skin. If here and there, especially in Greenland, traces of a fair type appear, they doubtless proceed from a crossing with ancient Norse or modern Danish blood. The hair of the head is straight and comparatively long; the beard, which is developed almost solely on the chin and lip, is among the pure Eskimo of scanty growth. The skin is thick and coarse on hands and face only, elsewhere soft, thin, and smooth. The reddish tint of the cheeks and strong red of the lips give a fresh look to the face. The stature is low without being dwarfish.

The Eskimo are noted for their bone carving, in which, besides lines, dots, lozenges, and circles, they represent in outline huts, boats, men, and reindeer, in various significant groupings.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SHOSHONES AND OTHER ROCKY MOUNTAIN TRIBES

PASSING into the great mountain range which divides the Atlantic from the Pacific area, we enter the territory of the Shoshonean family, an Indian group which, if judged by the area over which its various members have spread, is surpassed by but two families north of Mexico,—the Algonquian and the Athapaskan. It extended from the headwaters of the Missouri in central Montana to southern Texas, and from western Kansas to western Oregon, reaching the Pacific coast in southwestern California. The term "family" is applied to this group in the sense in which it is used by Major J. W. Powell in his list of linguistic families; however, according to other authorities, and as now generally conceded, it is but a large division of the great Nahuatlan stock which includes also the Piman, Aztec, and related tribes of Mexico; a vast family, which, including its outlying peoples, stretches from the banks of Columbia River to Lake Nicaragua. What a long unwritten history of the past, of the formation, growth, and disintegration of groups, and of the slow and gradual movements southward from the Arctic regions, is sealed up in this fact? A seal that will probably never be broken.

The principal members of the Shoshonean group are the Comanche, Bannock, Ute, Paiute, Gosiute, Paviotso, Shoshone [proper], and Hopi [or Moqui] tribes. The character and customs of this group differ widely, owing to

the great extent of territory over which it is spread and the varied climatic and topographic features. The northern and eastern tribes were generally non-agricultural, relying upon the chase and native vegetable products for subsistence. The Comanches and eastern Shoshones were essentially buffalo hunters, and in general character were fierce and warlike. The tribes living west of the mountains, as the Paiutes, Gosiutes, Paviotsos, and western Shoshones, were quite different in character; rabbits and small game generally, fish, roots, seeds, and insects, formed their chief support. Among them were found various bands or subtribes, to whom the name "Diggers," or "Digger Indians," has been opprobriously applied. Although these Indians used bows and arrows, manufactured pottery to a limited extent, practised a rude agriculture in certain districts, and lived under a somewhat complex social system, yet they have been considered the most degraded of the race in the United States. They seem to have retrograded from a somewhat more advanced culture status, and, what is significant as pointing possibly to some extended cause, a similar retrogression appears to have taken place among some of the California tribes since, if not before, the advent of the white man.

The Shoshones proper formed the most northerly division of the family, occupying a large portion of Wyoming; the entire central and southern parts of Idaho, except the area held by the Bannocks; a small part of eastern Oregon; eastern and central Nevada; and a small strip of western Utah. However, their chief seat was the Snake River country in Idaho, from which fact, it is said, the name "Snake Indians" has been applied to them. They were found by Lewis and Clark in 1803 near the divide opposite the headwaters of the Missouri, their towns being on Salmon River, one of them near the site of Fort Lemhi. There are strong reasons, however, for believing that their former home was east of the mountain range, probably on the headwaters of the Saskatchewan, from which region they were driven by the Atsinas and Blackfeet as the latter were

being pressed southwestward by the Crees and Assiniboinis. Nor is it improbable that we have in this evidence an indication of the pristine home and the course of migration of the entire family.

The Bannocks were divided geographically into two portions, one claiming the territory between latitude 42° and 45° and from longitude 113° W. to the main chain of Rocky Mountains; the other portion formerly dwelt in the southwestern part of Montana. They ranged, however, in more recent times in southeastern Idaho and western Wyoming, where, through constant contact with the Shoshones, they became, to some extent, incorporated with the latter. They, as well as the Shoshones, were almost constantly at war with the Blackfeet before being brought more directly under control of the government officials.

The several divisions of the Utes were so intimately related one with another socially and historically that it is difficult to consider them separately. In fact, the names of these divisions in the historical and sometimes in the official accounts are used in different senses. The Utes proper formerly occupied the central and western portions of Colorado and southwestern Utah, including the eastern part of Salt Lake and Utah valleys. They extended also into New Mexico, especially into the valley of the San Juan. These Indians, who have ever been of a restless, turbulent, warlike disposition, which was intensified on coming into possession of horses, have never been disposed to adopt the sedentary habits of their Pueblo neighbors on the south, nor have they relied until recently to any extent upon the cultivation of the soil for subsistence. It is possible that the various divisions, Paiute, Gosiute, Paviotso, etc., were originally united in a single confederacy; but moving southwest into the mountain region, where the natural food supply was by no means abundant, and increasing in numbers, they scattered in minor groups over a more extended area. In the northeastern part of their range, where they came into contact with the Bannocks and the Shoshones, the

Utes intermarried to a considerable extent with the people of these tribes, thus bringing them into close relations with them.

The name "Paiute" has been loosely applied to most of the Shoshonean tribes of eastern Utah, northern Arizona, southern Idaho, eastern Oregon, and California, whereas it properly belongs to the Utes of southwestern Utah. The Paviotsos appear to have formed a kind of confederacy of small tribes or bands, chiefly in western Nevada, but extending into Oregon as far north as Lakes Malheur and Harney and thence into northeastern California. In recent times they have pushed their way into the region about Pyramid Lake, in western Nevada. The Gosiutes also constituted, in comparatively recent times, a kind of confederacy of some four or five small tribes, inhabiting northwestern Utah and a strip in eastern Nevada. These Indians have been considered by some authorities as a mixture of Shoshone and Ute elements. They formed one of the very few Shoshonean groups engaged in agriculture. The Panamints composed a small division nearly related to the Shoshones proper, residing in eastern California. Another small division of the family, known as the Tobikhars, consisted of several bands formerly about San Gabriel Mission and Los Angeles, in southern California.

The history of the Shoshonean Indians begins with a single glimpse, after which two centuries pass before we hear of them again. In 1542, when Coronado was marching in search of the cities of Cibola, and De Soto was ending his career on the banks of the lower Mississippi, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was sailing northward along the coast of the Californias. At the "laguna near Point Mugu,"—identified by Mr. Henshaw (*Wheeler's Geol. Surv. Terr.*, vii, 306) as the vicinity of Buenaventura in the Santa Clara valley,—a village was observed near the shore, the houses of which are described as large, built "in the manner of those of New Spain," though just how this is to be understood is not clear. The Indians here were clothed with the skins

of animals, and are described as fishermen, living chiefly upon food obtained from the sea, eating their fish raw. The narrative says they also ate "agaves," probably a species of yucca, but makes no mention of maize or other cultivated products. However, for some ten or fifteen leagues northward from this point the coast seems to have been well peopled, more than twenty villages being observed in that distance. The explorers were also informed that there were many towns inland and much maize at three days' distance. The "cows" [buffaloes], of which they said there were many in the interior, they called "cae"; maize, they called "oep." From these terms we are enabled to identify these Indians with considerable certainty as belonging to the Shoshonean family. Although the Hopis, or Moquis, came to the knowledge of the Spaniards near the time of Cabrillo's voyage, the Utes did not begin to come into prominence until the commencement of the eighteenth century, when they came into contact with the Spanish colonists of New Mexico. In 1769, Father Junipero Serra began to gather the Indians of the southern part of Alta California into missions, among whom it is supposed were some individuals of the Shoshonean stock. However, it is not until the date of Lewis and Clark's expedition [1803-1804] that we find extended notice of the Shoshones proper, who were found by these explorers chiefly along Salmon River, in what is now Idaho. They received the travellers with friendly demonstrations; and from that time forward they came more and more into notice, especially when the gold seekers began to make their way across the continent. Different groups of the family have been described, in regard to their relations with the whites, as follows: "The Eastern Shoshonis ranging from South Pass to Bear river and Wind river and known as Koolastekara or Buffalo Eaters, have been very reliable in their friendship toward the Americans, Washikee, their chief, being noted in this respect. The Salmon river band, mixed Shoshonis and Bannocks, were unreliable and their friendship

questionable. The western Snakes about Camas Prairie and Goose Creek mountain, were on good terms with the Mormons but not with other whites. The Bannocks were traitorous and hostile when opportunity for striking a blow occurred. On the other hand, the Bannocks who dwelt in the vicinity of Fort Boisee were generally firm friends of the Americans; while the so-called Southern Snakes ranging about Salt Lake, Utah, were the most unfriendly of all these Indians toward the Americans, but at the same time were hand-in-glove with the Mormons. However, most of those along the transcontinental lines of travel committed depredations on the emigrants during the gold excitement in California."

Although the Mormons were almost always in friendly relations with the Indians and especially with those of the Shoshonean group, and were the instigators of many of the murders of whites,—as that of Lieutenant Gunnison,—there was a brief period during which they were at war with the Paiutes, the only real trouble they ever had with the Indians. "At that time," writes J. P. Dunn, Jr., in his *Massacres of the Mountains*, "there were but two settlements in the beautiful borders of Utah Lake, one on the American Fork, and one on Provo River. The Indians there, a band of Pah-Utes, did not appreciate good treatment, and from begging went to robbing. Finding they were not punished, they attributed their safety to the cowardice of the Mormons, and became so bold as to shoot people who tried to hinder them from taking what they wanted. They little dreamed of the claws of the velvet paw they had been playing with. The people on the Provo sent for assistance, and one hundred and fifty men went to them from Salt Lake. They found the Indians posted in the brush and cottonwoods along the Provo, and fought them there for two days. Then Sunday came, and the Saints rested, as is their custom, while the Indians fled. On Monday secular occupation was resumed. The Indians at the southern end of the lake were first proceeded against,

and about thirty of their warriors killed. They then returned to their first opponents, who had fled up a cañon, and killed all but seven or eight of their men. Some fifty women and children were taken prisoners and distributed among the settlements, but afterwards allowed to join other bands, if they so desired. After this there was no trouble that could be dignified by the name of war."

The treatment of the southern Diggers is thus described by Dunn: "'Yes' [says an old trapper], 'I have often caught the women and children of Digger Indians and sold them in New Mexico and Sonora. Mr. — of Tucson told me a squaw I sold him ran off, and was found dead, famished for water I suppose, going over from the Pimas to the Colorado.' . . . The weaker tribes of course suffered most in this business. The wretched Diggers of the Salt Lake Basin were especially the victims of it, in an early day, as was often testified to by travelers; Farnam says 'These poor creatures are hunted in the spring when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken are fattened and taken to Santa Fe and sold as slaves. A likely girl in her teens often brings three or four hundred dollars. The men are valued less.'"

On the other hand, the Utes pursued precisely the same practices toward Indians of other stocks, and, what was still more cruel, frequently reserved their miserable captives for sacrifice to the manes of their deceased chiefs and braves. When Walker, or Wacca, a noted Ute chief, died in 1855, and was buried on a high mountain about twelve miles southeast of Killmore, Utah, four slaves—three children and one woman—were buried with him. Three of them were killed and thrown into the grave; the other was thrown in alive.

There is but little in regard to the people of this stock worthy of being called history; they were too much broken into small and scattered groups to act as whole tribes or nations. Their history therefore, with a few exceptional events, relates to petty strifes, local disturbances, robbing

white settlers, murdering emigrants, and endless wanderings from point to point in search of the small game of their country, and piñon nuts. As a general rule, they were peaceable, until the gold excitement began in California and the stream of migration commenced its march across the continent. It was then that those who escaped the attacks of the savages of the plains were liable to be plundered and perhaps murdered by the Shoshonean Indians of the mountain districts. A note in Bancroft's *History of Oregon* gives a short account of some of these depredations occurring in 1851:

Eighteen thousand dollars worth of property was stolen by the Shoshones in 1851; many white men were killed, and more wounded. Hutchison Clark, of Illinois, was driving, in advance of his company, with his mother, sister and a young brother in the family carriage near Raft River 40 miles west of Fort Hall, when the party was attacked, his mother and brother killed, and Miss Grace Clark, after being outraged and shot through the body and wrist, was thrown over a precipice to die. She alighted on a bank of sand which broke the force of the fall. The savages then rolled stones over after her, some of which struck and wounded her, notwithstanding all of which she survived and reached Oregon alive. She was married afterward to a Mr. Vandervert, and settled on the coast branch of the Willamette. She died Feb. 20, 1875. When the train came up and discovered the bloody deed and that the Indians had driven off over twenty valuable horses, a company was formed, led by Charles Clark, to follow and chastise them. These were driven back, however, with a loss of one killed and one wounded. A brother of this Clark family named Thomas had emigrated in 1849, and was awaiting the arrival of his friends when the outrages occurred.—*Oregon Statesman*, Sept. 23, 1851. The same band killed Mr. Miller, from Virginia, and seriously wounded his daughter. They killed Jackson, a brother-in-law of Miller, at the same time, and attacked a train of twenty wagons, led by Harpool, being repulsed with some loss. Other parties were attacked at different points, and many persons wounded.—*Oregon Spectator*, Sept. 2, 1851. Barnes' *Oregon and California*, MS., 20. Raymond, superintendent at Fort Hall, said that 31 emigrants had been shot by the Shoshones and their allies the Bannacks.—*Oregon Statesman*, Dec. 9, 1851; *S. F. Alta*, Sept. 28, 1851.

In the spring of 1865, United States troops were called upon to take the field in Oregon and Idaho, the roads

between The Dalles and Boisé, between Boisé and Salt Lake, between Owyhee and Chico, and between Owyhee and Humboldt in California, being unsafe because of the Indian raids. This opened a warfare that continued until 1868, when General Crook succeeded in bringing it to a close, but soon to be followed by the Modoc war. It was during the latter war that Captain Jack, leader of the Modocs, and his men fired on the peace commissioners they had consented to meet, while in the very midst of their consultations. General Canby and Mr. Thomas, two of the commissioners, were killed, and Mr. Meacham, another, was severely wounded.

The Utes were, until the outbreak of 1879, almost uniformly peaceable. Lying between the lines of transcontinental travel, they were not brought into contact with the emigrants seeking the gold fields of California. In 1879, after these Indians, through their friendly and, as may truly be said, wise chief Ouray, had yielded point after point to the whites to meet the demands of the hordes of incoming miners, they were finally pressed into a war which might have been avoided. The trouble with the White River Indians, who were chiefly engaged, arose from a disagreement with their agent, N. C. Meeker, who was ultimately killed by them and his family captured. The conflict was a brief one, the white soldiers, however, suffering severely. The troops, under command of Major Thornburg, who was slain early in the contest, were ambushed and surrounded by a vastly superior force and besieged for six consecutive days, being finally relieved by General Merritt. The influence of chief Ouray, who was strongly opposed to warring against the whites, was used to check the outbreak and restore peace.

The story of the remaining Ute troubles is mainly the record of the tedious sessions of two commissions. An adjustment was finally reached on the basis that none of the Indians should be punished, that the lands desired by the miners should be ceded to the government, and the

Indians given other reservations. There can be no doubt that Ouray, who died before the treaty was concluded, had prevented a long and bloody war by exerting all his power and influence in favor of peaceful relations with the whites.

The Shoshones and Bannocks, by the treaty of Fort Bridger, July 3, 1868, ceded to the United States an immense territory, embracing most of eastern Idaho, the northwestern third of Wyoming, and considerable tracts in Colorado and Utah, and were gathered on reservations assigned them in Idaho and Wyoming.

The Shoshones are described as "below the medium stature; the Utes, though more powerfully built, are coarser featured and less agile"; and the women, as clumsily shaped. On the barren plains of Nevada, and other similar sections where there is no large game, rabbits' skins furnished, in the time before the coming of white traders, nearly the only clothing used by them; the pelts were cut into strips and netted or woven into kilts and mantles. The Shoshones and Bannocks of the northeastern section, where larger game is found, were better dressed, the usual costume being a shirt, leggings, and moccasins of buckskin, over which was thrown in cold weather a heavy robe, usually of buffalo skin. The dress worn at the time of Lewis and Clark's visit was richer than that of a later date, being composed of a robe, short cloak, shirt, long leggings, and moccasins. The Bannock women, according to the writer's observations, were unusually short in proportion to the males.

The dwellings of the Shoshones and Bannocks, though but tepees suitable to a nomadic people, being conical skin-covered tents, were superior to those of the Utes. The habitations of the Indians of Nevada and the greater part of Utah were primitive in character, consisting of rude shelters of brush, and sometimes were mere screens of bushes, semicircular in shape, roofless, and three or four feet high, serving simply to break the force of the wind. The food of the poorer tribes and those inhabiting the barren sections consisted of rabbits, rats, and other small mammals,

pine nuts, berries, roots, reptiles, insects, and fish where these were to be obtained. Lizards, snakes, grasshoppers, and ants were roasted and eaten dry, or used to thicken soup. The writer found at one of their camps in northern Utah, which had just been abandoned, a sack of roasted crickets. The tribes of Oregon and Idaho, where game and fish are abundant, lived well the year round. The bow and arrow were their chief offensive weapons. Although each tribe had an ostensible chief, his power was limited mainly to giving advice; and though he might influence the tribe, he could not compel obedience; yet chiefs of strong personality sometimes, as Ouray, gained an almost unlimited influence over their people. Polygamy, though common, was by no means universal; the marriage tie, however, weighed so lightly on Ute husbands that they did not hesitate to sell their wives into slavery for a few trinkets.

The method of disposing of the dead differed among the several tribes; though burial in graves was the usual custom, cremation was practised in some places. In either case, it was customary to destroy the property of the deceased at his death. His favorite horse, and sometimes his favorite wife, was killed over his grave.

The most noted and also the most formidable tribe of the great Shoshonean group was that known as the Comanches, described at an early day by the French as the Padoucas. Their historical habitat has been chiefly the extensive plains from Rocky Mountains eastward into Indian Territory and Texas to about the ninety-seventh degree of west longitude. However, their raids, for they were a wandering, restless people, took them northward to Kansas on the one side, and southward as far as Durango, Mexico, on the other. There is some evidence that their earlier home was further toward the north, and that it was in that northern section they parted from the parent stock. The Crow Indians have, or had, a tradition that while they resided around Bearpaw Mountain in the Blackfoot country, near the base of Rocky Mountains, the Shoshones possessed the

more recent Crow country on Yellowstone River, while the Comanches occupied the modern Shoshone area in the Snake River region, Idaho. Nevertheless, the various items of evidence indicate that their progress southward was along the eastern base of the mountain chain rather than by way of the Snake River valley in the interior, as we hear of them about the upper Platte, the headwaters of Niobrara River, and even further north on the east side of the range. They were on the headwaters of Kansas River as late as 1724, and later on they crossed to the south side of Red River. This progress southward of a branch of the Shoshonean stock is a very interesting item in the history of the western Indians, as it furnishes an example with which we may compare the prehistoric movements southward of members of the Athapascan family. The cause of the movement southward of the Comanches has been, probably correctly, attributed to the westward progress of the Siouan tribes.

The Comanches do not appear in the Spanish records until after the close of the seventeenth century; as early, however, as 1724 we find them at war with the Apaches; and in 1746 they were making raids on the Spanish settlements, which brought them into war with the latter. However, they were brought into nominal submission in 1783, but again became troublesome and continued to harass the district of Texas until it came into possession of the United States. Their hatred of the Spaniards appears to have been turned against the people of the United States after the transfer of the territory to the latter. For a time, emigrants and traders crossing the plains suffered from their attacks, which did not entirely cease until the Comanches were brought upon reservations.

During their early and limited intercourse with the French, their relations with them were friendly.

Their government was primitive in character, their chiefs having comparatively little authority, the power being in the councils. The councils of the bands or divisions, as a rule, held regular meetings quarterly, and a grand council of the

whole tribe met once a year. It seems that during part, at least, of their history there was a head chief of the whole tribe, to whom the minor chiefs were to some extent subject, although the sovereignty of this head chief does not appear to have been acknowledged by the southern division of the tribe in the later years of their free life.

It has been claimed that they were superior warriors to the noted Apaches; that they and the Cheyennes were the most expert horsemen of the plains, and, in fact, of all the North American tribes, has been conceded, nor were their women far behind them in this respect. Relying chiefly upon the buffalo for subsistence, and having necessarily to follow the herds, they gave no attention to the cultivation of the soil.

It is a somewhat singular fact that before being placed on reservations they abstained from the use of intoxicating liquors (Kennedy, *Texas*, i, 347, 1841; and Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ii, 307). "One of the most interesting traits of difference" [from other tribes], says the latter author, "is to be found in their distaste for ardent spirits; but few of them can be induced to taste a drop of intoxicating liquors; thus forming an exception, I believe, to the entire race of the 'red man,' who appears to have a constitutional appetite for strong drinks."

Although belonging to another stock, the Apaches, who join the Shoshonean group on the south, claim further notice than the brief reference given in a previous chapter relating to the early history of New Mexico and Arizona. These Indians, who have played an important rôle in the history of the two southwestern territories mentioned, pertained to the division of that group of the Athapascan family which roamed over these districts and the region extending into Chihuahua and Durango, Mexico.

Though generally spoken of as a tribe, this is chiefly on linguistic grounds, as there has been, in fact, no proper tribal organization embracing all the subdivisions. The principal ones of the latter were the Chiricahuas, in southeastern

Arizona; the Gileños, or Gila Apaches, about the headwaters of the Gila; Mimbresños, or Copper Mine Apaches; Jicarillas, in the two mountains of northern New Mexico; the Pinalenos, Arivaipas, Mogollons, Coyoterros, and Tontos.

The earliest notice we have of them is in Oñate's *Journal* [1598], after which for nearly three centuries they were at war with the whites, first with the Spaniards and afterward with the people of the United States, besides which they were in almost constant broils with other native tribes. At present, those belonging to the United States are confined to reservations in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma.

During the middle of the eighteenth century the Apaches were continually troublesome in Arizona, raiding the Pimas and the Spanish missions; and numerous campaigns were undertaken against them, though usually with meagre results. In 1786, General Ugarte decided upon more effective measures, and a more correct policy; and his plan appears to have been successful; at least, for twenty years or more there are but slight indications of Apache depredations in the history of that section. After the acquisition of New Mexico and Arizona by the United States, the hatred of these Indians was turned against the people of the new government. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the warfare that ensued, their raids upon the whites or on other Indians being almost unceasing for several years. They are spoken of in 1850 as "incorrigible robbers"; nevertheless, they were generally on friendly terms with a disreputable gang of Mexican and American traders, who encouraged their depredations. In 1862-1863, active campaigns were carried on against them by General Carleton and Colonel Kit Carson, which resulted in killing numbers of the Indians and destroying numerous herds of sheep and horses, but not in bringing the Apaches to terms. It was not until the prosecution of this object was placed in the hands of General Crook, in 1872-1873, that the work was accomplished and these restless, warlike savages were quieted and brought upon reservations.

The Navajo Indians are, as heretofore stated, placed by linguists in the Athapascan stock, and are supposed to have broken away from the main group in British America and wandered, as probably did the Apaches, down the mountain range to their historic seat in Arizona and New Mexico. While there can be no doubt as to their linguistic affinity, yet, according to their "Origin Legend" as given by Dr. Washington Matthews (*Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, v), they were a much mixed race, having added to the Déné, or Athapascan, stock elements from the Zufian and other Pueblo stocks, and also from the Shoshonean and Yuman groups. The author quoted, who has studied these Indians with care, believes their physical characteristics corroborate the legend in this respect. "There is," he says, "no such thing as a general or prevailing Navaho type. The people vary much in feature and stature. Every variety of Indian face and form may be seen among them."

The Navajos are first mentioned in history by Zarata Salmeron in 1626, who calls them "Apaches de Navaju." The acquirement of sheep and cattle through the Pueblos, probably as early as the sixteenth century, formed an important epoch in their history, and materially modified their mode of life and tended toward giving them more fixed habits. As a general rule, they were nominally friendly with the Spaniards up to 1700, though frequently raiding the friendly Indians, and secretly urging attacks on the former by other tribes.

Padre Juan A. Niel tells us that among the captives brought in by the Navajos were two French girls, whom he rescued; and Hubert Bancroft says that in 1698 the French almost annihilated a Navajo force of some four thousand men. This, however, is hardly credible. In 1700, the Navajos committed depredations on the Spaniards, who sent an expedition against them and soon concluded peace at Toas. This peace agreement was repeated in 1709 and 1713, and in each case was soon broken. In the latter instance, the Indians were followed into their own country

and defeated by Captain Serna. In 1744-1746, these Indians manifested a great desire to become Christians; so missionaries were sent among them, who were well received, and in 1746 the conversion of five thousand "gentiles" was reported to the king. Attempts were made, about this time, to plant missions accessible to them, and Padre Menchero induced some five or six hundred to move to Cebollita, in the Acoma region. But all these efforts proved in the end futile. War soon broke out between the Navajos and the Utes, and those of the former tribe who had settled at Cebollita returned to their former habitat.

The Navajos were hostile to the whites in 1803-1805, and intrenched themselves in Cañon de Chelley, from which to carry on their warfare, but were brought to terms of peace by Lieutenant Antonio Narbona in 1805. In 1840, they were waging a fierce war against the Hopis. In 1846, when they first came into actual contact with the United States government, their intercourse was nominally friendly, and a treaty was made during that year. Treaties were also made in 1848 and 1849; however, little respect was paid to them by the Navajos, who continued to make raids upon the settlements and to carry on their warfare with other tribes. In 1865, they were rounded up to the number of seven thousand by Generals Carleton and Carson and brought upon reservations, chiefly at Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos, New Mexico. This reservation proving unsatisfactory, they were removed in 1868 to their present reservation in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona, a part of their original home. Their subsequent progress in self-sustaining industries can be judged of by the fact that in 1890 their sheep numbered 700,000, goats 200,000; and that in the same year they sold 1,370,000 pounds of wool and had about 10,000 acres of land under cultivation.

The Indians of this tribe, both men and women, wear the hair long, tied, or clubbed up behind. They do not tattoo themselves, or disfigure themselves with paint, to the same degree as neighboring tribes. The ordinary dress

was formerly a hunting shirt of deerskin, or a blanket confined to the waist by a belt; buckskin breeches, sometimes ornamented up the seams with pieces of silver or porcupine quills. They wore long moccasins, and a helmet-shaped cap, also of buckskin, surmounted with a plume of eagle or turkey feathers. The women generally wore a blanket fastened with a waist belt, also breeches and moccasins. The Navajo women are noted throughout the Southwest for the beautiful blankets they weave. The men in recent years have devoted considerable attention to the manufacture of silver ornaments, the value of those made in 1890 being estimated at three hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST

As it is not possible in a brief chapter to note separately the character, customs, and history of the numerous small stocks of California and the coast northward, only those points more generally applicable will be referred to. It may be added further that save what pertains to the Spanish missions,—which belongs chiefly to the history of Spanish occupancy of the country,—and depredation and petty warfare between tribes, the Indian history of the region furnishes no important episodes. No combination of tribes for a great effort in any respect ever occurred in the historical period of that section, or, as will be seen, was indeed possible with the native population in the singular conditions which have prevailed. Here we encounter one of the most puzzling features in regard to the distribution of linguistic stocks found on the American continent. In the comparatively narrow strip little more than two hundred miles in width, and extending along the coast from the thirty-fourth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, are, according to the investigations of the Bureau of American Ethnology, no less than twenty-seven different linguistic families. (See Map C and Appendix II.)

Adding to these the Athapascan stock, which is represented in this area by some three or four colonies, as the Hupas, etc., and the Tsimshian, Skittagetan [or Haida], and Kolushan, coast stocks further north, the entire number

of families represented is thirty-one, or three more than half the entire number [fifty-six] north of Mexico as marked on Major Powell's linguistic map. It will also be seen by reference to Map C and its explanation that the series, excepting the last three, was backed most of the length of the strip from north to south by the single Shoshone group, which is now considered but a section of a still more comprehensive family. Of these family groups some eighteen or twenty were within the limits of the state of California alone. On what theory this crowding of so many small stocks into this limited coast area is to be accounted for, it is difficult to decide. It is possible that the physical characteristics of the region had some effect in this direction, as Powers (*Tribes of California*) seems to hold; nevertheless, it is evident that this will not fully explain this condition, in view of the fact that in some portions of the area two different stocks occupy neighboring localities similar in character, and have adopted to a considerable extent similar customs, yet maintain their linguistic differences. One theory, which seems to have received some attention, is that these groups are remnants of broken and depleted stocks which have been driven into these narrow littoral limits by pressure of stronger interior tribes in their gradual movement southward. The fact that minor offshoots from the great Athapascan family have found homes amid these minor stocks seems to favor this theory. Powers, in the work referred to, says that the California Indians of the northern sections "were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athapascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiutes of Nevada." Nevertheless, reasons are presented, as will appear further on, for supposing that the majority of these groups were always small in numbers.

Hubert Bancroft makes the rather strange statement in his *Native Races* that the "Northern Californians are in every

way superior to the central and southern tribes. Their physique and character, in fact, approach nearer to the Oregon nations than to the people of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. This applies more particularly to the inland tribes. The race gradually deteriorates as it approaches the coast, growing less in stature, darker in color, more and more degraded in character, habits, and religion." The statement, however, appears to be confirmed by other authorities; and it is a fact readily seen by reference to the linguistic map that the large and strong tribes are in the interior, while the diminutive and weak ones are crowded along the coast. Powers says he is inclined to attribute something of the mental weakness of the California aborigines to the excessive amount of fish which they consumed in their native state; also, perhaps, to the quantity of bitter acorns they ate. "It is," he continues, "generally accounted that fish is rich in brain-food, but it is an indisputable fact that the grossest superstitions and lowest intellects in the race are found along the sea-coast."

That the Californians were not a martial race is shown, says the last author, by the almost total absence of the shield, and by the extreme paucity of their warlike weapons, which consisted only of bows and arrows, very rude spears, and slings. However, the early Spaniards frequently found to their cost that the Indians were able to use these weapons with telling effect. Notwithstanding, they were not expert in the chase, relying for the capture of game very largely upon snares and traps or other devices.

"If there is one great and fatal weakness in the California Indians," remarks Powers, "it is their lack of breadth and strength of character; hence their incapacity to organize wide-reaching, powerful federative government. They are infinitely cunning, shrewd, selfish, intriguing; but they are quite lacking in grasp, in vigor, in boldness." This would seem to indicate inferior mental force, and rather tends toward the view that these small groups are not remnants of larger stocks which have been broken and

driven to the coast, but feeble organizations whose weakness and minor importance have preserved them from destruction. Nevertheless, the problem is insoluble with the data at present known.

North of Mount Shasta, according to Powers, the languages are conspicuously harsh, often guttural, and abounding in difficult consonantal combinations; while south of this mountain they are largely vocalic, harmonious, and musical. North of the mountain the permanent dwellings are partially subterranean, but south of this line the subterranean feature is much less common, the wigwams being built on the surface of the ground with only a hollow scooped out sufficiently to bank out the rain in a storm. "Among the Indians north of Mount Shasta," remarks Mr. Powers, "a majority of the shamans or physicians are women; but south they are almost wholly excluded from the practice of medicine. Those tribes north of the line, especially the Oregon Indians, are very fond of horses; while the true Californian Indian does not seek to accumulate wealth in horses, but prefers shells, and makes all his bargains in that medium and has little to do with the noble brute until you go far enough south to find a touch of Spanish blood in his veins."

There is considerable variety in the dwellings of the California tribes. For example, there is the partly subterranean abode, the portion above the pit being built of redwood puncheons. In the snow belt, both of the Coast Range and the Sierra, the sharp conical form made with poles or enormous slabs of bark prevails. In the Russian River and other warm coast valleys, the large round or oblong structure of willow poles covered with grass is the principal form. About Clear Lake was a variety of dwellings with four perpendicular walls made by planting willow poles in the ground and lashing others to them, the roof being flat, made of poles covered with thatch. On the woodless plains of the Sacramento and San Joaquin the round, dome-shaped, earth-covered lodge was the type

principally in use, and, in fact, was the most common type of California. In the hot and dry Kern and Tulare Valleys is to be found the dwelling made of such frail material as tule.

As before stated, the history of the California Indians, and, in fact, of the Indians of the northwest coast, presents no remarkable episodes. Among the first notices we have of them are those in the narrative of the voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542, who was followed a few years later by Sir Francis Drake. But all we learn from the statements of these early navigators are a few items in regard to the customs and appearances of the Indians of the sections they visited. Their history, so far as they can be said to have any real history, begins with the first planting of missions at San Diego, by Junipero Serra, in 1769. It is true that more or less intercourse with the whites existed many years before this; but the history of the Indians of California is largely the history of the missions, where a large number of them were gathered, and of their relations with the so-called "gentiles," or outside Indians. But the history of the missions is in part the history of Spanish rule, hence we can only notice here, in brief and general terms, the results so far as the Indians were concerned.

For a time the missions increased rapidly in numbers and the conversions followed in quick succession, and many neophytes were gathered into these homes. In 1830, there were twenty-six missionaries in charge of twenty-one missions, but a decrease in prosperity and numbers had already begun. In 1833, the number of missionaries was still twenty-six, but during the preceding decade the neophyte population had decreased from 18,000 to 15,000, only one mission—San Luis Rey—showing a gain. As indicating the tendency at this time to decrease, it may be added that the cattle had decreased from 156,000 to 140,000; the horses, from 16,600 to 12,000; and the sheep, from 150,000 to 130,000. The crops raised had decreased in a still greater ratio. It was about this time [1834] that the

secularization of the missions began to be enforced; that is, they were, according to imperial order, changed into pueblos, with allotments of the lands, or portions thereof, to the neophytes.

However, the work of the missions, notwithstanding the bright promises of success with which the Franciscans met at the outset, was doomed to failure. "Notwithstanding the admirable character of some of the missionaries," writes friendly Hittell, an enthusiastic Californian, "and the great labors they performed; notwithstanding their earnest endeavors and their unswerving belief that they were accomplishing good; notwithstanding their building of mission after mission and their infinite toils in what they conceived to be harvests of immortal souls, nothing, or substantially nothing, of all their labors remains. . . . Every great work in the right path bears good fruit and leaves a beneficent impress upon the future. But the work of the missionaries of California was not of this kind. It looked only to the aggrandizement of a system and dominion that had long outlived their usefulness. It did not contemplate or in any proper sense regard the progress of true civilization. It evolved no germs out of which were to spring higher and better forms. It was barren and unprofitable."

Nor is it to be wondered at that all this mission work among the Indians should come to naught, when we take into consideration the cruel treatment of the neophytes by many of the missionaries. They not only compelled them to almost incessant labors, but often neglected to furnish them with sufficient food to sustain them in a working condition. For the most trivial offences they handcuffed, imprisoned, and unmercifully beat them. When the poor, deceived Indians learned that their former free life with all its vicissitudes was preferable to such Christianizing as this, and attempted to gain their freedom by flight, they were hunted down as criminals and punished with tenfold rigor. But ill treatment and stripes were not reserved for the men alone; women too were stripped and flogged, the

only difference being that the men were lashed publicly, while the women were removed to an enclosure at such a distance that their cries and screams could not be heard. It is no wonder, therefore, that the deluded Indians by hundreds sought relief from these oppressions by flight to the "gentile" tribes. This testimony, it is proper to state, is from members of the same faith as the missionaries whose acts are condemned.

The general treatment of the Indians by the people of California was calculated to keep up a constant state of friction. In the early days, the slightest depredations by the Indians were seized upon as excuses for attacking their settlements, killing the males, and carrying off the children to be distributed among the white families and reared as servants, or, in truth, veritable slaves. Attacks upon the missions by "gentile" tribes incited by escaped neophytes were of frequent occurrence, sometimes resulting in driving off the inhabitants and the destruction of their buildings. Petty warfare between the whites and Indians continued at intervals until the latter were gathered upon reservations by the United States authorities.

Mr. Powers estimates the number of Indians in California, during their palmy days, at 700,000! This figure is probably from six to ten times the correct number. The Indian population given by the *Report of Indian Affairs* for 1902 is 15,158. It is probable the number of Indians in California never reached 100,000, or even three-fourths of that number.

The natives of Oregon are usually grouped, in part, with those of California and, in part, with those further north. However, this grouping is based on the generally observed customs and physical characteristics, and not on strictly ethnic or linguistic data, though, exclusive of certain intrusive elements, agreeing in a broad sense with the ethnic relations. Here, as in California, there is little Indian history save that in regard to intertribal relations, of which there are but meagre records, and the incidents of intercourse.

with the whites, which were chiefly in the early days with passing navigators and the agents of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies. The tribes (see Map C, and Appendix II.), like those further south, were small and too much absorbed in their local prejudices and petty broils to unite in any great effort of resistance or aggression. No great leader—as Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, among the tribes of the Atlantic side—appears to have arisen among these northwest coast Indians.

Our information regarding these tribes begins with the accounts given by the early European voyagers to this region. Behring came down from the more northern regions in 1741. In 1774–1775, the Spanish navigators Juan Perez and La Bodega y Quadra, coming from the south, explored the coast to the northward. In 1778, Captain Cook, having with him Vancouver as his midshipman, made his celebrated visit to this coast, perpetuating their names by applying them to islands and waters. Soon thereafter, vessels of mercantile companies began to explore the coast in search of trade with the natives, as that under Captain Meares in 1786, and that under Dixon in 1787. From 1788 to 1803, several American ships representing a Boston company appeared on the coast. Some of the latter were unfortunate, as the “Boston,” whose officers and men, amounting to thirty-five persons, were murdered by the Indians at Nootka. In 1792–1794, Captain Vancouver made his noted reconnaissance of the coast. From 1804 to the purchase of Alaska by the United States, the history of the coast north of the United States is largely the history of the Russian-American and the Hudson's Bay Companies.

The natives formerly dwelling about the lower parts of Columbia River consisted of four tribes, including the Chinooks and Clatsops belonging to the Chinookan family. These tribes, which are reported to have been formerly more populous and influential, were greatly thinned by the smallpox, which spread havoc through this region for several years. After having enjoyed a considerable respite

from the scourge and recruited their numbers to some extent, they were again, in 1829, visited by a different but equally fatal malady, which carried off many victims. These Indians, though in a region where they could procure to a limited extent the flesh of elks, deer, and waterfowl, relied for subsistence almost entirely upon fish, chiefly salmon, which were abundant in the river and neighboring inlets.

Physically, the people of these tribes were a rather diminutive race. The earlier writers say that their legs were generally crooked, their ankles thick, and their feet flat, caused probably by passing so much of their time in childhood squatting on the calves of their legs and on their heels in the bottom of their canoes. In their early intercourse with the whites they were scantily clad, the men being almost or entirely naked in summer, but wearing in winter a small robe made of skins of animals and reaching to the middle of the thigh, sometimes adding a mantle made of matting thrown over the shoulders. The women wore a similar robe, which reached only to the waist, to which was appended a kind of petticoat, reaching from the waist to the knee, formed of the fibres of cedar bark, or a tissue of silk-grass, twisted and knotted at the ends; but in winter they added a vest of skins. Both sexes allowed the hair, in which they took great pride, to grow to a great length, sometimes wearing it plaited, sometimes wound around the head in fanciful tresses. They had conical hats, with narrow rims, woven of bear-grass or the fibres of cedar bark, and exhibiting, in different colors, various designs relating chiefly to aquatic life. They appear to have been somewhat warlike, as they were well provided with offensive and defensive arms. Some of these tribes of the lower Columbia followed the custom of flattening the head during infancy, though it is affirmed by some authorities that the Indians known as "Flatheads" [Salish] did not follow this custom, their heads being round and of the natural form.

The Indians formerly inhabiting the coast from Columbia River northward to Cape Flattery, at the southern entrance

to Juan de Fuca Straits, belonged to the Clatsop tribe. They disfigured themselves by running bone rings and other ornaments through the lower division of the nose, and flattened their heads in the same manner as the Chinooks and Indians of the lower Columbia, and exhibited the same leading characteristics.

Several small tribes, or rather bands, probably belonging to the Wakashan family, formerly resided in the vicinity of Millbank Sound. These differed considerably from the southern tribes, in the prominence of the cheek bones and regularity of their features. However, they are described as dirty from the quantity of oil used on their hair and vermillion on their faces. These bands had several villages, which were shifted according to the fishing season and winter weather. Their winter villages, which were their more permanent ones, were composed of strongly built houses; those of the chiefs being particularly well constructed. The chiefs of this locality had the custom of playing the part of a conjurer. In the winter the Indians would assemble at the house of one of the chiefs for the purpose of seeing him "imitate the different spirits." The performance, if correctly described, appears to have been about the same thing as a juggler's exhibition; he used different dresses and masks, and his preparations were made behind a curtain stretched across a stage. These Indians gave the agents and employes of the Hudson's Bay Company stationed here much trouble, attacking the fort on more than one occasion.

The Flatheads, or Salish Indians, who lived chiefly in the region stretching south of the lower Columbia, adjoining the country of the Chinooks, were described half a century ago as comparatively fair in complexion, well made and active, with oval faces and a mild and playful expression of countenance; generally honest in their dealings, brave in battle, amenable to their chiefs, of whom Comcomly, who died in 1831, was the most noted; fond of cleanliness, and less given to theft and falsehood than was usual among the

Indians of this northwestern section. The head chiefship of the tribe was hereditary; but the war chief was elected, the selection being made, as usual, because of bravery, renown, and judgment. The election was annual, and the chief's authority was limited to the field operations and war excursions. They seem to have been more than usually accessible to Christian influence, although polygamy was not only permitted, but was considered a mark of distinction. Residing more toward the interior than the others mentioned in this chapter, this tribe is not properly included among the northwest coast Indians.

The Walla Wallas, of the Shahaptian family, appear to have been generally friendly to the whites so long as they were left in peaceable possession of their lands, and tried to imitate them in raising stock and cultivating the soil. But the rapid increase of the settlers had, by 1848, rendered the Indians of Oregon uneasy in regard to their lands, and they were further irritated by the failure of the United States government to pay them for the lands they had parted with, and for which official promise had been made.

The Klikitats, also of the Shahaptian family, were troublesome through minor depredations committed on the settlements in Willamette Valley in 1849-1850.

Hall J. Kelly (*Geographical Sketch of Oregon*, 1830) contends that the Indians on the north side of De Fuca Straits were in the past, to some extent, cannibals. He says they were in the habit of killing and eating a part of those whom the fortune of war put into their hands, whom they held as slaves. "One of these unhappy victims was sacrificed every moon, or as often as the occurrence of their festival days, in the following manner. A part, or the whole, of the slaves are collected at the sovereign chief's house, where they are compelled to join in the music and the dance. The inferior chiefs sing the war song, dance round the fire, throwing oil into it to make larger the flame. In the midst of this hellish mirth, the principal chief, dressed and painted in savage costume, and in the appearance of a ghostly demon,

enters blindfolded; in this state he pursues the unhappy wretches, whose struggles and shrieks to escape his fearful hold create an awful moment of confusion, and thrill with horror the heart of stone; the fatal grasp is made; the knife is plunged into the heart and the infernal shout announces the silence of the devoted victim; it is immediately cut into pieces; a reeking parcel is given to each of the guests, who, like dogs, seize the quivering flesh, and while they devour it, the blood runs from the mouth warm as in the current of life." Some indications of this have been observed in some of the ceremonies of the secret societies, though the custom, through the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, had been abandoned at the time Mr. Kelly wrote the preceding statement.

This company, it is said, found these northern tribes more troublesome and dangerous than any others encountered by them throughout the northwestern coast. In the first place, they were by nature fierce and independent; and secondly, their warlike mood had by no means been quieted by intercourse with the Europeans. Brute force had been the policy of the Russians, who ventured at an early day thus far southward, many of whom were hardly more Christian and humane than the savages. Nor was their intercourse with the English and American traders, until more recent times, calculated to gain their friendship.

Alexander Ross (*Adventures on Oregon and Columbia River*) mentions meeting a large body of Indians, composed of Walla Walla, Shahaptians, and Cayuses, in 1811, at the point where the Walla Walla enters the Columbia. These more interior Indians are thus described by him:

The men were generally tall, raw-boned, and well dressed; having all buffalo-robcs, deer-skin leggings, very white, and most of them garnished with porcupine quills. Their shoes were also trimmed and painted red;—altogether, their appearance indicated wealth. Their voices were strong and masculine, and their language differed from any we had heard before. The women wore garments of well-dressed deer-skin down to their heels; many of them richly garnished with beads, higuas, and other trinkets—leggings and shoes similar to those of the

men. Their faces were painted red. On the whole, they differed widely in appearance from the piscatory tribes we had seen along the river. . . . The plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.

Attention has been called to this statement of a reliable authority, well acquainted with these Indians, because of the unusual elegance of their equipment, compared with that of the Shoshones and Paiutes described in a preceding chapter.

By the middle of the year 1855 all the lands between Columbia River and the summit of Calapooya Mountain, and between the Coast and Cascade Ranges, had been purchased by the United States, the Indians agreeing to remove to such localities as should be selected for them. These peaceable transactions appear to have been speedily followed by trouble between the Oregon settlers and the Indians. It was in 1855-1856 that the Rogue River war occurred; the Shastas, Umpquas, Klamaths, and others were engaged in this outbreak. The work of plundering, applying the torch, and massacre went on from day to day, the gathering and equipping of troops for the field being slow, and the hastily called volunteers being unable to keep pace with the wily savages. But the end was the usual one; the Indians were finally hunted down and brought to bay, and those remaining were gathered on reservations.

It is somewhat strange that the three northern groups, the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida, have been studied with more care by philologists and ethnologists than the tribes of Oregon and California. This has been due no doubt to two facts; first, that the northern tribes had been less affected by intercourse with the whites than those of the more southern sections; and secondly, because the position of these northern tribes, linguistically, ethnically, and geographically, rendered them important in the study of North American ethnology, and hence they have attracted the notice of scientists.

With a country thickly wooded with pine, fir, spruce, and hemlock, the forest stocked with game, and the waters

teeming with the finny tribes, there could be no reason, so far as the food supply is concerned, that the inhabitants should become migratory or nomadic in their habits, like those of the plains and barrens; and hence, as we would have judged, they are sedentary and have fixed abodes, changing only from their winter or permanent villages to their summer camps. Although, as will be seen, their customs are somewhat alike, and there is considerable uniformity in their physical character, yet there are apparent ethnic variations as we go northward; nevertheless, they differ, as a group, quite materially from the hunting Indians of the interior, and still more decidedly from the Eskimo who adjoin them on the north. Although the Indians from Columbia River to Mount St. Elias have to a certain degree ethnic affiliations one with another, the linguistic variations are very marked, the languages belonging, according to the classification of the Bureau of Ethnology, to three distinct stocks,—the Kolushan [Tlingit], Chimmesyan [Tsimshian], and the Skittagetan [Haida].

Physically, the Indians of these groups are unquestionably superior to the coast tribes further south, the superiority in this respect among themselves resting with the Haidas. Langsdorf, who visited this region in 1805, says of the Tlingits: "They have in general large fiery eyes; a small, flat, broad nose, and large cheek bones; indeed in all respects, large and strongly marked features." According to more recent study, the Indians of these groups are described in general as having thick, stiff, coarse, straight black hair, worn short by the men, excepting the shamans, or doctors, and long by the women. The eyes are generally black or brown, though gray eyes are sometimes seen. The hands and feet are small and well shaped, especially among the women. In complexion both sexes are remarkably light colored, and this is in no way due to intermixture with the whites.

"In contrast with the fierce, revengeful Tinne," says Lieutenant Niblack, whose description applies to Indians of the southern sections of Alaska and differs slightly from

that of Langsdorf, "they are generally mild in disposition. In physical characteristics they are shorter, the cheek bones are less prominent, the nose is straighter, and the face round and fuller."

The assurance of an ample food supply with moderate exertion has allowed them more than the usual opportunity obtained by the natives to follow up their tastes and develop in active form their conceptions. Here this seems to have been expressed to a large degree along the art lines. The Haidas and Tlingits appear to have a decided taste for carving and ornamentation. Ornamentation penetrates to every spot accessible to it. It is found on almost every article, from the house and totem post to the oar and fish-hook. By the wretched light of their oil lamps, the Tlingit women stitch elegant moccasins with sinews, manufacture durable nets from string, weave baskets and plait hats from straw or the root fibres of the cedar, and mats from its bast. The Haida women likewise show their skill in the articles they weave. But this is exceeded by the skill with which the men execute fantastically adorned carving in wood and stone, and ornament dwellings, canoes, and many other things, even to their own bodies, with equally fantastic figures in color. The robes of state worn by their chiefs on certain occasions are literally covered with these weird figures. And what seems rather strange is that a number of the designs shown in this region are found repeated in Mexico and Central America, a resemblance to which attention has been frequently called, and which is too apparent to be overlooked. How are these to be accounted for? While it might be hazardous to claim, as Swan does, that the northern group was of Aztec origin, or, as others, that they were of Japanese stock, yet it is most unsatisfactory to those who have studied the subject to dismiss it with the assertion that the similarities are accidental. Nor can it be wholly accidental that many of these designs resemble, even to details, some of those of the Pacific islands. The explanation has not as yet been satisfactorily given.

"On the northwest coast," remarks a recent writer, "totemism permeates the whole tribal organization. The ceremonies at birth, initiation, naming, matrimony, feasting, dancing, funerals, and all other social occasions, all have for their object, in some way, the identification of the individual with his totem under its specific name. A totem is simply an organization of consanguineal kindred into a recognized group or band." Among the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian tribes, the organization is based on mother right. Among the southern tribes of British Columbia, father right is the form of social organization.

Chiefship among these tribes is a title backed only by a shadowy authority. The family is here the social unit. The head of that household in the village which through inheritance, wealth, numbers, and influence predominates over the others is nominally chief of the village; his power, however, aside from influence through wealth, birth, and family, is largely due to his prowess in war or to personal and masterful qualities. Now and then a chief may rule a village with despotic sway, but the power is not so much due to the headship in itself as to the personal qualities of the individual.

The permanent villages of the Haidas were formerly, especially when they were at war with other tribes, built in strong natural positions, sometimes on rocks detached from the mainland, but connected by a bridge or by artificial passageways. The villages discovered by Vancouver on Kupreanoff Island were all situated on the summit of a precipice or steep insular rock, rendered by nature almost inaccessible. These, in addition to their natural advantages, were strongly fortified with a platform of wood laid on the most elevated part of the rock, and projecting so far at its sides as to overhang the declivity. The edge of the platform was barricaded with logs of wood placed one upon another. It is probable that these were chiefly intended as places of retreat or refuge for the women, children, and aged persons when the men were fishing or absent for some other

purpose. The town houses were built of logs or puncheons, and were of sufficient size to accommodate a number of families. Poole mentions a house on Queen Charlotte Island fifty feet square, with ten feet of its height dug in the ground, which accommodated seven hundred persons—probably a somewhat exaggerated number. One feature mentioned by Vancouver was the raised houses; these were on platforms supported by posts. Some of these raised buildings, now no longer used, were twenty-five or thirty feet from the ground, solidly and neatly constructed, an inclined log with notches serving as a ladder. These elevated houses, however, were observed only among the people immediately south of the Haidas.

The defensive structures here described afford almost the only indications of the past history of this tribe that remain to us. They make it apparent that these natives were in a state of constant warfare with fierce enemies who made their approaches suddenly by water. Were these bitter foes the Eskimo whose habitat in former times extended further south than in recent years? At any rate, they were most likely northerners.

Formerly it was the custom of most of the tribes of this northern section to cremate the dead. However, of later years there has been a change in this respect, and the methods of sepulture vary in different localities. Dixon, who visited this coast in 1787, describes a former mortuary custom as follows:

The manner in which they dispose of their dead is very remarkable. They separate the head from the body and wrapping them in furs, the head is put into a square box; the body in a kind of oblong chest. At each end of the chest which contains the body a thick pole, about 10 feet long, is drove into the earth in a slanting position, so that the upper ends meet together, and are firmly lashed with a kind of rope prepared for this purpose. About 2 feet from the top of this arch a small piece of timber goes across, and is very neatly fitted to each pole; on this piece of timber the box which contains the head is fixed, and very strongly secured with rope; the box is frequently decorated with two or three rows of small shells, and sometimes teeth, which are let into

the wood with great neatness and ingenuity ; and, as an additional ornament, is painted with a variety of colors, but the poles are uniformly painted white. Sometimes these poles are fixed upright in the earth and on each side of the body, but the head is always secured in the position described.

Niblack, in his work already quoted from (*Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia*), speaks as follows in regard to their history: "European civilization has borne with crushing force on the Indians of the Northwest coast. Demoralized and staggered by contact with the whites, the remnant of the former population is just beginning to rally from the blow. Nothing places the Northern tribes higher in the scale of intelligence than the philosophy with which they are adapting themselves to their changed environment, retaining their advantageous native customs, and accepting from us only what contributes to their comfort and welfare. The greatest curse to them has been alcohol."

The Indians of the northwest coast, when we consider their customs, totems, symbols, and figures, as also their physical characteristics, are of great interest to ethnologists. So important are they considered in this respect that an expedition of a number of ethnologists and linguists has been sent to this region to make a careful study of their languages, customs, etc.; and at the time of this writing are still engaged in this work.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

IN treating of the policy of the United States government in its dealings with the Indians, it is necessary to draw distinctly the line between the *policy* and the method of carrying out that policy—in other words, between policy and treatment. The former may be just, equitable, and humane, while the method of carrying it into effect may be unjust, oppressive, and dishonest. Attention has been called in a previous chapter to the wide difference between the ordinances of the King of Spain and their administration by the officers appointed for this purpose. And if the statements of the officials and non-officials be true, the agents appointed by the United States authorities to carry into effect agreements made with Indians have more than once abused their trust and shamefully defrauded the red men. The government's policy, to which attention is called here, must therefore be distinguished from the treatment of the Indians by the government's agents. That the government is responsible for the acts of its agents is conceded; but the policy and treatment, though the government be chargeable with both, are two different subjects, which must be treated separately.

In all the claims by and contests between the European nations regarding their rights in the New World, the Indian title to the soil is nowhere allowed to intervene, it being conceded by these powers that the nation making the discovery had complete dominion over the territory, and the

sole right of dealing with the natives regarding their claims to the soil, and of establishing settlements on it. This was understood to be a right with which no other European government could interfere; it was a right which each government asserted for itself and to which all others assented. This theory and policy were, as is apparent, based upon the assumption of dominion without any consideration of the natives. It is on this right and claim—passed from Great Britain to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1783; from France by treaty of 1803; from Spain by treaty of 1819; from Mexico by treaty of 1848 and purchase of 1853; and from Russia by cession of 1867—that the United States government bases its claim to dominion over the territory within its bounds; and this claim, like that of the European powers, is maintained regardless of any title in the aboriginal population.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Johnson and Graham's lessee vs. McIntosh* (8 Wheaton 343, *et seq.*), remarks as follows on this point: "Thus all the nations of Europe, who have acquired territory on this continent, have asserted in themselves and have recognized in others, the exclusive right of the discoverer to appropriate the lands occupied by the Indians. Have the American States rejected or adopted this principle? By the treaty which concluded the war of our Revolution, Great Britain relinquished all claim not only to the government, but to the 'property and territorial rights of the United States,' whose boundaries were fixed in the second article. By this treaty the powers of government, and the right to the soil, which had previously been in Great Britain passed definitively to these states. We had before taken possession of them by declaring independence; but neither the declaration of independence, nor the treaty confirming it, could give us more than that which we before possessed, or to which Great Britain was before entitled. It has never been doubted that either the United States, or the several states, had a clear title to all the lands within the boundary lines

described in the treaty, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and that the exclusive power to extinguish that right was vested in that government which might constitutionally exercise it. The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which their civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold and assert in themselves the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest; and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty as the circumstances of the people would allow them to exercise.

"The power now possessed by the government of the United States to grant lands resided, while we were colonies, in the crown or its grantees. The validity of the titles given by either has never been questioned in our courts. It has been exercised uniformly over territory in possession of the Indians. The existence of this power must negative the existence of any right which may conflict with and control it. An absolute title to lands cannot exist, at the same time, in different persons, or in different governments."

It follows, therefore, that the absolute title is in the government, otherwise it must be in the Indians, which cannot be admitted and is inconsistent with the sovereignty of the United States. As the land question was the chief one in the relations of the government with its Indian population, so it has been the prominent one in the government's Indian policy, as twenty-four of every twenty-five treaties made relate thereto. The power of the government in this respect was limited, to some extent, by the right of the original states, under the Constitution, to treat with the Indians within their own jurisdiction.

The first step in determining the policy to be pursued, whether expressed or only implied, was to decide as to the nature or character of the Indian right. What this decision was is distinctly stated by the Supreme Court in the case above cited, as follows: "It has never been contended that

the Indian title amounted to nothing. Their right of possession has never been questioned. The claim of government extends to the complete ultimate title, charged with the right of possession, and to the exclusive power of acquiring that right." The decision in this case is, of course, conclusive in regard to the nature of the Indian title to lands as held by our government. However, this policy had been outlined by previous Congressional action.

As early as September 22, 1783, while yet acting under the Articles of Confederation, the following order was passed by Congress:

Whereas by the 9th of the Articles of Confederation, it is among other things declared, that "the United States in Congress assembled have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated." And whereas it is essential to the welfare of the United States, as well as necessary for the maintenance of harmony and friendship with the Indians, not members of any of the States, that all cause of quarrel or complaint between them and the United States or any of them, should be removed and prevented; therefore, the United States in Congress assembled, have thought proper to issue their proclamation, and they do hereby prohibit and forbid all persons from making settlements on lands inhabited or claimed by Indians, without the limits or jurisdiction of any particular State, and from purchasing or receiving any gift or cession of such lands or claims without the express authority and direction of the United States in Congress assembled.

It is also further declared that every such purchase or settlement, gift, or cession, not having said authority, is null and void, and that no right or title will accrue from such purchase, gift, or settlement.

By the eighth section of the act of Congress of March 1, 1793, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes," the same principle is enacted into law, as follows:

And be it further enacted, That no purchase or grant of lands, or of any title or claim thereto, from any Indians, or nation or tribe of Indians, within the bounds of the United States, shall be of any

validity, in law or equity, unless the same be made by a treaty or convention entered into pursuant to the constitution. And it shall be a misdemeanor in any person, not employed under the authority of the United States in negotiating such treaty or convention, punishable by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, directly or indirectly to treat with any such Indians, nation or tribe of Indians, for the title or purchase of any lands by them held or claimed: Provided, nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for the agent or agents of any State, who may be present at any treaty held with the Indians, under the authority of the United States, in the presence, and with the approbation of, the Commissioner or Commissioners of the United States appointed to hold the same, to propose to, and adjust with, the Indians, the compensation to be made for their claims to lands within such State, which shall be extinguished by the treaty.

This is repeated in substance in Section 12 of the act of May 9, 1796, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontier"; and also in Section 12 of the act of March 30, 1802.

It appears, therefore, that the Articles of Confederation expressly gave to Congress the "sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated." The rights of the states intervening in this respect had the effect, especially where tribes lay across the border, to complicate the problem and hamper to some extent the national policy. In the formation of the Constitution, the power of Congress in this respect is briefly expressed as follows: "To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." It is apparent from the use of the word "tribes" that the framers of the Constitution had in contemplation the method of dealing with the Indians as tribes through treaties, which method was in fact followed for many years. This is clearly shown by the act of March 1, 1793, quoted above, where it is stated that no purchase or grant of lands, etc., shall be of any

validity in law or equity "*unless the same be made by a treaty or convention entered into pursuant to the constitution.*"

By Section 15 of the act of March 26, 1804, "erecting Louisiana into two territories, and providing the temporary government thereof," it is provided that:

The President of the United States is hereby authorized to stipulate with any Indian tribes owning lands on the East side of the Mississippi, and residing thereon, for an exchange of lands the property of the United States, on the West side of the Mississippi, in case the said tribe shall remove and settle thereon; but, in such stipulation, the said tribes shall acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and shall agree that they will not hold any treaty with any foreign Power, individual State, or with the individuals of any State or Power; and that they will not sell or dispose of the said lands, or any part thereof, to any sovereign Power, except the United States, nor to the subjects or citizens of any other sovereign Power, nor to the citizens of the United States. And in order to maintain peace and tranquillity with the Indian tribes who reside within the limits of Louisiana, as ceded by France to the United States, the act of Congress, passed on the thirtieth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers," is hereby extended to the territories erected and established by this act; and the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated by law, is hereby appropriated, to enable the President of the United States to effect the object expressed in this section.

Here is broached the plan subsequently carried out of pushing the Indians beyond the Mississippi in order to make room for the wave of migration that was rolling westward from the Atlantic coast settlements.

By Article 6 of the treaty of April 30, 1803, by which France ceded Louisiana to the United States, the latter promised "to execute such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the tribes and nations of Indians, until by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes or nations, other suitable articles shall have been agreed upon."

It is clear, therefore, from these legal expressions that the United States has always conceded to the Indians the

usufruct, or right of occupancy, of such lands as they were in possession of; yet the United States claimed the ultimate right to the soil and the exclusive right of treating with the Indians for the relinquishment of their claims. Though all the nations admitted some kind of possessory right in the Indians, the limitations were not the same. Some, as Spain, limited it to the lands actually occupied or in use; while the United States usually allowed it to extend to the land claimed, where the boundaries between the different tribes were understood and agreed upon. In fact, this government seems to have proceeded upon the theory that all the land was held by the natives, in the sense given, and should be purchased from them.

The right of occupancy by the Indians, until voluntarily relinquished, or extinguished by agreement, or by justifiable conquest, being conceded, the next step in forming a policy was to determine the method of extinguishing their actual right to such territory as was not necessary for their actual use.

As their claims were those of tribes or communities, and not of individuals in severalty, it was necessary that the government, in treating with them for their rights, should treat with the respective bodies or tribes. The policy of the government in this respect was, as already stated, outlined at as early a date as the formation of the Articles of Confederation. The colonies and also the mother country had treated with the Indians as "nations," their chiefs or sachems often being designated as "kings," and this idea being retained by the founders of our government was ingrafted into their policy. By the Articles of Confederation, as heretofore noticed, the "United States in Congress assembled" had the sole and exclusive right of treating with the Indians; but under the Constitution, though the theory and policy adopted have been maintained, there has been a change as to the authority which may act. The clause of the Articles of Confederation was not inserted in the Constitution, either in words or in substance. As

power to regulate commerce with the Indians is the only specific mention therein of relations with the natives, the authority to act must be found in this clause, in that relating to making treaties, and in the general powers granted to Congress and the Executive. That our early lawmakers believed the extinguishment of the Indian titles should be through the treaty-making power and by means of treaties is apparent from the act of March 1, 1793, quoted above.

It is stated in this that "no purchase or grant," etc., shall be of any validity "unless the same be made by a *treaty or convention* entered into pursuant to the Constitution." This power was by the Constitution placed in the hands of the President, subject to the "advice and consent of the Senate," a vote of two-thirds being required. Treaties imply that the parties executing them are nationalities, and this implication held good when our government entered into treaties with the Indian tribes. Now it appears from the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1890 that:

From the execution of the first treaty made between the United States and the Indian tribes residing within its limits (September 17, 1778, with the Delawares) to the adoption of the act of March 3, 1871, that "no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty," the United States has pursued a uniform course of extinguishing the Indian title only with the consent of those tribes which were recognized as having claim to the soil by reason of occupancy, such consent being expressed in treaties. . . . Except only in the case of the Sioux Indians in Minnesota, after the outbreak of 1862, the Government has never extinguished an Indian title as by right of conquest; and in this case the Indians were provided with another reservation, and subsequently were paid the net proceeds arising from the sale of the land vacated.

It is seen from this that until March 3, 1871, Indian titles to land were extinguished only under the treaty-making clause of the Constitution, and these treaties, though the tribe may have been reduced to a small band, were usually

clothed in the same stately verbiage as a treaty with a great European nation, as the following:

Whereas a treaty between the United States of America and the mingoes, chiefs, captains and warriors, of the Choctaw nation, was entered into at Dancing Rabbit creek, on the twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty, and of the independence of the United States the fifty-fifth, by John H. Eaton and John Coffee, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, captains and head-men of the Choctaw nation on the part of said nation; which treaty, together with the supplemental article thereto, is in the words following, to wit:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered said treaty, do, in pursuance of the advice and consent of the Senate, as expressed by their resolution of the twenty-first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, accept, ratify, and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof, with the exception of the preamble.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and of the independence of the United States the fifty-fifth.

[L. S.]

ANDREW JACKSON.

By the President:

M. VAN BUREN, Secretary of State.

By the act of March 3, 1871, the anomaly of dealing with the native tribes—while under the dominion, and considered wards of the United States—as independent nations, which method had continued for nearly a hundred years, was finally discontinued. The effect of this act was to bring under the immediate control of Congress, as specified in Article I., Section 8, Clause 3, of the Constitution, the transactions with the Indians and reduce to simple agreements what had before been accomplished by solemn treaties.

The plan of forming Indian reservations was adopted from the necessity of bringing the tribes more easily under control of the government, and confining them to defined limits in order to avoid disputes in regard to bounds. This

policy has been followed in Canada under both French and English rule, and was inaugurated by the United States government as early as 1786, and has continued to be its policy to the present day. The earliest reservations were chiefly formed as the result of cessions of land by the tribes, thus restricting their limits, but expressly stating in the treaties, where reference was made to the bounds, that the portion so limited was "allotted to" or "reserved for" the given Indians. However, as time proceeded, the method of establishing reservations was varied, as will be seen from the following summary of the one hundred and sixty-three existing in 1890:

By Executive order, 56; by Executive order under authority of Congress, 6; by act of Congress, 29; by treaty, with boundaries defined or enlarged by Executive order, 15; by treaty, or agreement and act of Congress, 5; by unratified treaty, 1; by treaty or agreement, 51.

It will be seen by the preceding summary that the method of establishing reservations has not been uniform, some being by treaty, some by Executive order, and others by act of Congress. Those, however, established by Executive order, independent of an act of Congress, were not held to be permanent before the "general allotment act" of 1887, by which the tenure has been materially changed and all reservations, whether by Executive order, act of Congress, or treaty, are held to be permanent. Nevertheless, the United States claims the ultimate title, and will recognize no sale thereof except to the government or in accordance with an act of Congress.

(A list of the reservations in 1902, with the several areas, is given in Appendix III.)

Allotments of land in severalty could only be made, previous to the act of February 8, 1887, by treaty or by virtue of an act of Congress, but by this act general authority is given to the President for this purpose. Leases of land, sale of standing timber, granting of mining privileges, and right of way to railroads, are all prohibited to

the Indians without some enabling act of Congress. On the other hand, it is obligatory upon the government to prevent any intrusion, trespass, or settlement on the lands of any nation or tribe of Indians, except where the tribe or nation has given consent by agreement or treaty.

The titles held by Indians which have been recognized by the government appear to be the following: the original right of occupancy; the title to their reservations; the latter differs, in most cases, from the original title in the fact that it is derived from the United States. There have been some titles, and a few still exist, which are deemed by the Indian Bureau exceptions to this rule. These are where a tribe in ceding title to land it has held by original occupancy reserves from the cession a specified and defined portion thereof; such portion is held under the original right of occupancy, with the consent of the government. A third kind of title is that where reservations have been patented by the government to the Indian tribes. As examples of this class of titles, the patents to the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek nations may be cited, for the tracts respectively defined by the treaty stipulations:

December 31, 1838, to the Cherokee Nation, forever, upon conditions, one of which is "that the lands hereby granted shall revert to the United States if the said Cherokees become extinct or abandon the same."

March 23, 1842, to the Choctaw Nation, in fee simple to them and their descendants "to inure to them while they shall exist as a nation and live on it, liable to no transfer or alienation, except to the United States with their consent."

August 11, 1852, to the Muscogee or Creek tribe of Indians "so long as they shall exist as a nation and continue to occupy the country hereby conveyed to them."

The construction given to these titles by the Indian Bureau and the courts is that they are not absolute titles in fee simple with power of complete alienation except to the United States, nor the same as the ordinary title by occupancy, but "a base, qualified or determinable fee,

with only a possibility of reversion to the United States, and the authorities of these nations may cut, sell, and dispose of their timber, and may permit mining and grazing within the limits of their respective tracts *by their own citizens.*"

However, the act of March 1, 1889, establishing a United States court in Indian Territory, repeals all laws having the effect to prevent the five civilized tribes in said territory [Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole] from entering into leases or contracts with others than their own citizens for mining coal for a period not exceeding ten years.

Lands allotted and patented were held by a tenure of a somewhat higher grade than the titles mentioned; nevertheless, their exact nature in this respect does not appear to have been clearly defined, though it seems that the orders for allotment usually, if not always, contained a probationary clause; that is, a clause stating that if after a trial of fifteen or twenty years the Indians so receiving allotments should prove themselves worthy they should receive individually titles in full and complete fee simple, becoming at the same time citizens.

Section 6 of the Allotment Act of 1887 provides as follows:

That upon the completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, such and every member of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside; and no Territory shall pass or enforce any law denying any such Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. And every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provision of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up within said limits his residence separate from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or

otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States, without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the right of any such Indian to tribal or other property.

It is apparent, therefore, that the general policy adopted by the United States government in its treatment of its Indian wards was in the main a just and humane one, if the basis on which the entire fabric rests can be considered just. A doubt has been expressed as to whether the United States or any European power could with perfect honesty and integrity take, purchase, or obtain in any way the lands of the natives. The correct theory on this subject is so clearly set forth by John Quincy Adams in his oration at the anniversary of the Sons of Pilgrims, December 22, 1802, that we quote it here as a complete reply to the above inquiry:

There are moralists who have questioned the right of Europeans to intrude upon the possessions of the aborigines in any case and under any limitations whatsoever. But have they maturely considered the whole subject? The Indian right of possession itself stands, with regard to the greatest part of the country, upon a questionable foundation. Their cultivated fields, their constructed habitations, a space of ample sufficiency for their subsistence, and whatever they had annexed to themselves by personal labor, were undoubtedly by the laws of nature theirs. But what is the right of a huntsman to the forest of a thousand miles over which he has accidentally ranged in quest of prey? Shall the liberal bounties of Providence to the race of man be monopolized by one of ten thousand for whom they were created? Shall the exuberant bosom of the common mother, amply adequate to the nourishment of millions, be claimed exclusively by a few hundreds of her offspring? Shall the lordly savage not only disdain the virtues and enjoyments of civilization himself, but shall he control the civilization of a whole world? Shall he forbid the wilderness to blossom like the rose? Shall he forbid the oaks of the forest to fall before the ax of industry and rise again transformed into the habitations of ease and elegance? Shall he doom an immense region of the globe to perpetual desolation, and to hear the howlings of the tiger and the wolf silence forever the voice of human gladness? Shall the fields and the valleys which a beneficent God has framed to teem with the life of innumerable multitudes be condemned to everlasting barrenness? Shall the mighty rivers, poured out by the hands of nature as channels of communication between numerous nations, roll their waters in sullen silence and eternal solitude to the deep? Have

hundreds of commodious harbors, a thousand leagues of coast, and a boundless ocean been spread in the front of this land, and shall every purpose of utility to which they could apply be prohibited by the tenant of the woods? No, generous philanthropists! Heaven has not been thus inconsistent in the works of its hands. Heaven has not thus placed at irreconcilable strife its moral laws with its physical creation.

Civilization, which can increase ten, yea, a hundred fold the sustaining capacity of the soil, has the moral right, though it may often prove as harsh as the surgeon's knife, to allot the earth in proportion to the population; that is, to limit the savage hunter to the bounds necessary to his existence with labor and proper cultivation.

That the treatment of the Indians by the United States government, by its agents and by the people, has not always corresponded with the avowed policy is true; and it is to be regretted that truth compels the admission that it has in numerous instances, as shown in the preceding history, been unjust and in some cases even cruel. But those who are disposed to magnify these charges and cry out: "A century of Shame" forget to make allowance for the severe struggle of the infant colonies to maintain their existence, or to take into consideration what the government has done for its "Indian wards" by way of reparation.

By reference to the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for the year 1901 we learn something of the practical measures of the government to compensate the Indians for the lands they have ceded; and also of the efforts to prepare them for civilized citizenship.

It appears from this report that the trust funds in the United States Treasury to the credit of the various tribes—which funds draw four and five per cent interest—amount to \$35,036,037, the annual interest arising therefrom being \$1,721,913. In addition to this there was appropriated for their use and the expenses incident thereto for the given year the sum of \$9,736,186, including \$3,244,250, or \$140 per scholar, for the support of Indian schools. The income of some of the tribes is sufficient to support them without

labor on their part; as in the case of the Osages. The Indians of this tribe, amounting to 1,788 persons, of whom 558 [in 1901] were children, possess a fund of \$8,311,070 in the hands of the government, drawing yearly \$415,553 interest. In addition to this, their income from pasturage leases amounted in 1901 to \$138,296. The annual income per capita was therefore about \$310, or over \$1,000 per family.

These facts and others which might be adduced in regard to the efforts of the government to uplift the native population within its boundaries should be placed in the balance in judging of the treatment of the Indians by our government and people.

CHAPTER XX

THE INDIANS AS A RACE AND AS A FACTOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY

IN attempting to study the Indian character and culture it is well to put ourselves on guard against following too implicitly the largely theoretic lines which have been laid down without sufficient restrictions. Ethnologists and other students anxious to ascertain criteria by which to classify into divisions and subdivisions, or to mark the stages of progress, have often ventured upon assumptions in their generalizations without sufficient data to establish them as universal characteristics of the race. The prevalence of a custom in a large number of diverse tribes is taken as evidence that this is one of the phases through which the entire race passes in the process of development; whereas we should always be prepared to find exceptions to the rule. Nevertheless, generalization is absolutely necessary and we must use it, though with caution.

The natives of America, as a whole, have been variously grouped by ethnologists: some have classified them as a single race; a large number have considered them as two races or primary divisions, the Eskimo forming one, and the remaining natives the other; and again, there are those who have increased the number of divisions. Ratzel affirms that there is a tendency to return to Blumenbach's old theory of the two races, though this cannot be said of American authors. Huxley [1870] and Brinton adhered to the single race theory, the former placing all American aborigines under

his Mongoloid type; Powell, Boas, and some others also adopted the single race theory. Topinard [1878] gave the following divisions under his "straight-haired races": "Eskimo, Red Indians, Mexico-Peruvians, Gurani-Caribs, and Mongols," a classification which seems to be based, to some extent, on culture. The arrangement by J. Deniker (*Races of Man*), based, as he claims, on physical characters, is as follows: two races, the Eskimo forming one, and the remaining natives the other. The latter he divides into four subraces,—the North American, the Central American, the South American, and the Patagonian. This subdivision, however, as is readily seen, is very largely geographical. Nevertheless, a classification of the Indians of North America into more than two races or divisions, according to the general arrangement we adopt, leads to confusion, as the attempt at further division brings into use minor distinctions and a large number of ill-defined groups. The theory most likely to be generally accepted is that of a single race, the Eskimo tribes forming a widely divergent group.

Deniker, speaking of the physical characters of the American aborigines, says: "It must be borne in mind that there exists but a single character common to these American races, that is the color of the skin, the ground of which is yellow. This appears to conflict with the current opinion that the Americans are a *red race*, and yet it is a statement of fact." An equally recent writer, speaking of their characteristics generally, says they "were indeed more remarkable than has been popularly appreciated. They possessed, as a rule, strong personality, great physical vigor, quick intelligence, and dauntless courage. Their brain power was of a high order and the cerebral quality extremely fine; capable through the processes of time of a development second to none."

Such expressions as the last are but the rebound from the opposite extreme of the mistaken popular estimate. It has been said that there is nothing an Indian can do that a white man cannot do as well or better. Possibly the

statement is a little too broad, but a test after reasonable training would, in all likelihood, prove it to be substantially correct. It is also hardly correct to say that, as a rule, they are possessed of "dauntless courage," as they are by no means equal in this respect to the whites. There have been, it is true, many instances of individual bravery among them, but it is very seldom that a body of Indians can be marched squarely into the face of danger like a troop of white soldiers. It is time, therefore, that the Indian character should be properly estimated. One type is no more applicable to all Indians than it is to all whites. They range from the lowest savages, whose abodes are mere brush screens, less comfortable than the holes of the foxes, to the genius that could plan and build the temple of Uxmal.

Notwithstanding the homogeneity assumed in classing all American aborigines as one race, the variations in somatic characters are very considerable. Accepting the data furnished in Deniker's tables, we find them running through all his stature groups from the lowest to the highest; and in craniometry, they are found in every group except that of "Hyper-Brachycephals." Virchow, after studying skulls from different sections of the continent, passed to the negative extreme,—that from the point of view of anthropological classification there is no real unity among the aboriginal population of America. Ratzel (*History of Mankind*) concluded that in the color of the skin uniformity prevails so far that the extreme dark brown of the negro and the white of the European do not occur; in physiognomy, the distinguishing marks, besides the size of the head, are the breadth of the face, caused by the strongly developed cheek bones, and the lowness of the narrow forehead. The straight black hair, which has a circular section, has very generally been considered a distinguishing character.

The mental capacity and mental character of the Indians must be determined by the advance they have made. However, one fact bearing upon this subject which has not been sufficiently emphasized is that they were, until modified by

contact and intercourse with the whites, in what we may, perhaps appropriately, term the childhood state of the race. That they were children in many of their actions and thoughts is shown in their ceremonies, plays, and amusements. See them striking the post before starting on a war excursion, and boasting of the manner in which they intend to smite the enemy in the coming battle—a purely childish performance. We see proof of the same fact in the effort to be the most extravagant in their display and gesticulations in their dances, plays, and other public functions and exhibitions; and also in their love for childish things.

Another curious fact which seems to have a place in this connection, and which has not heretofore received special notice, though apparently of considerable interest, is the prevailing feminine physiognomy of the males, at least of those of the northern sections. If anyone will take the trouble to study carefully a hundred or more good photographs of males of pure blood, he will find that two-thirds, if not a greater proportion, show feminine faces. The full signification of this fact is not apparent, but it seems to bear to some extent upon the question of the evolution of the race.

While it is true that in order to fully understand their "nature" it is necessary to consider them in many respects as children, yet it is apparent that their physical development, the necessity of seeking a food supply, and of providing means of defence against human and animal foes, have pushed development along certain lines which belong to the manhood rather than the childhood stage. Even the culture of the most advanced tribes of Mexico and Central America developed almost wholly along particular lines, and not generally to a like degree in all lines.

The highest mental attainment among the northern tribes was probably that which resulted in the League of the Iroquois, though we fail to see the evidence of such great mental advance as claimed by Sir Daniel Wilson. The

social machinery, so to speak, ultimately brought into use was gradually developed through the necessity for a system, and was not the product of a single mind. The figures in the Mexican and Mayan codices and inscriptions show clearly that the people to whom we ascribe them were Indians and in some respects yet in the childhood state; but there is evidence that they had made considerable advance along mathematical and artistic lines, an advance somewhat astonishing in the former instance. This is apparent from a consideration of the Mayan time system, which, briefly stated, was as follows: they recognized the day as the unit in time counting; also a month of 20 days, each day with its particular name and number; a year of 365 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days each, and a short supplemental month of 5 days. In counting time they followed the vigesimal system, except that the second step consisted of eighteen units of the second order. Thus, taking the day as the unit, a unit of the second order would consist of 20 days; one of the third, 360 days; one of the fourth, 7,200 days; one of the fifth, 144,000; the next higher, or unit of the sixth order, which also appears to have been used, consisted of 2,880,000 days, each one of these units having its own appropriate symbol. As to the number of days comprising the unit of the sixth order, or "Great Cycle," the writer differs with Mr. Goodman, the one given being, beyond question, that of the Dresden Codex. Now, there is clear and distinct evidence both in the codices and inscriptions that the priests or scribes who formed these records did, in some instances, beginning with a certain day of a certain month named and numbered, count several million days,—certainly as high as four millions,—giving correctly the day, month, and year on which this long period terminated. To reduce the several denominations to units and then change them into years, months, and days must have required calculations beyond a wholly mental process. Yet these people were Indians, savages in many of their customs, and childlike in some of their practices.

It is certainly true that at the discovery of the continent by Europeans about the close of the fifteenth century, the natives, although possessed of copper to some extent, were yet in the Stone Age, the art of smelting and working iron and other metals into useful implements being unknown to them. The absence of the larger domestic animals hindered very materially the free course of trade, commerce, and agriculture. Nevertheless, in building and sculpture, as well as in mathematics and calendar systems, the Mexicans and Central Americans had made remarkable advances, as is proved by the remains of temples and other structures. In fact, they seem in some respects to have been on the very verge of civilization, while in other respects they were genuine savages.

As a rule, the tribes of America were organized on the basis of descent; the unit of organization being the clan or gens. Everybody in a tribe, it is claimed, belonged to a gens or clan, otherwise he could not be in a tribe. This, however, is basing too broad a statement on incomplete data. Brinton says truly: "The gentile system is by no means universal, . . . where it exists it is often traced in the male line, both property and dignities may be inherited directly from the father. In fact, no one element of the system was uniformly respected, and it is an error of theorists to make it appear so. It varied widely in the same stock and in all its expressions,"—(*American Race*, 46.) Theoretically, if not universally in practice, marriage was prohibited in the same gens; the husband and wife must be of different gentes. Each gens was supposed to have its chief and council. This was theoretically, and very largely in practice, the plan of social organization among the Indians; but there were wide variations from the rule, sufficient to cast great doubt on the theory that this was one of the phases through which all peoples passed in the course of development.

Although it is often asserted that government among the various Indian tribes is similar in character and fundamental principles, varying in degree of perfection, this is a theoretic

expression based on incomplete data. It may perhaps be correctly asserted that "as a rule, the government of the Indians was a simple democracy. The chiefs were usually elected—though sometimes hereditary—and held office for life, or until advancing years caused their resignation." Still, an examination of the systems of the various tribes shows almost every grade, from a mere associate band with hardly a semblance of government, and little cohesiveness, to the compact, well-organized confederacy on the one hand, and the almost despotic rule on the other. Among a number of the tribes of British Columbia and Alaska, there was in fact no tribal organization, the term "tribe" being used in the linguistic sense. Among the Taculies, any person might become a chief who would occasionally provide a village feast. On the other hand, the Iroquoian League, as we have seen, was a well-defined though somewhat complicated organization, yet the machinery was so well regulated that it worked with all the harmony of a modern civilized government. Nevertheless, the social organization of the people of this confederacy was based on the gentile system, with descent in the female line. The nearest approach to civilized government of the monarchical type was that which prevailed among the Aztecs. The attempt of Morgan to prove that Aztec organization was not beyond that of the Pueblos or the Iroquois cannot be accepted as convincing. For, although the use by the Spanish historians of such terms as "emperor," "royal," "nobles," etc., has caused a reaction in the minds of historians, carrying them to the opposite extreme, the correct conclusion lies between the two. The term "chief" applied to Montezuma would scarcely convey to the ordinary reader a correct idea of his political position unless accompanied by some explanation or modifier. It must also be remembered that the Montezuma who received Cortés was the grandson of Axayacatl, who, in turn, was the son of the first Montezuma, each of whom was ruler of the nation, indicating a "royal" line. That these rulers

were more than simple war chiefs or mere peace chiefs is certain; the two powers were combined in the one person, which was contrary to the general rule in Indian government. Payne (*History of America*) says the government was "a military despotism."

Although physical characteristics and other criteria have been referred to as a means of classifying the native population of the continent, language appears to form the most reliable basis and to afford the greatest accuracy. Nevertheless, the result in some instances is curious and somewhat disappointing. To find on the one hand that little bands living close neighbors or in adjoining valleys in California or Oregon, and having, so far as a cursory observation shows, similar habits, speak languages of different stocks, while on the other hand the "Diggers" and Paiutes of Utah and Nevada and the Pimas of Arizona belong linguistically to the same family as the people of Montezuma, is apparently bringing into relation what seem from every other view to be incongruous elements, or separating those which should be associated. It must be remembered that on the one side it is held by some authors that affinity of language implies racial identity or unity of origin; while on the other it is contended, seemingly correctly, that the conclusion that affinity of language necessarily implies identity of race or cognate origin is not warranted. Nevertheless, it does indicate contact and is our best evidence as to unity of origin where not contradicted by positive proof.

The geographical distribution of the families of languages in North America presents some rather singular features. The areas covered differ enormously in proportion, some being confined to very small districts embracing but a few square miles, while other stocks, as the Algonquian and the Nahuatlán, stretched over areas greater than the original "thirteen colonies." In these facts lie buried, perhaps beyond resurrection, much of the past history of the race. While the supposition may carry us too far into the speculative field, yet we venture the suggestion that it is possible

the larger groups were generally of more recent development than the smaller coast tribes. One example may be referred to as seemingly in line with this supposition; that is the Aztec group, whose traditional history, reaching back to their entrance into the Anahuac valley not more than eight or nine centuries ago, has been preserved.

No native American people have been discovered entirely devoid of religion, using the term in its broad sense. We find belief among all North American tribes in one or more higher and numerous inferior spirits or invisible powers. Numerous attempts have been made by authors to define or explain the Indian religious beliefs, but in most cases these have been based upon the study of the beliefs of particular Indians, and hence they fail to give sufficiently comprehensive conclusions to apply generally. It cannot, perhaps, be stated correctly that any tribe had risen to the conception of a personal supreme Deity, creator of the material universe, before contact with Europeans; yet the beliefs in some sections appear to have shown a strong tendency toward or a reaching after the idea of one overruling Power. It is probable that the nearest approach made to this idea was among the Kiches of the Mayan group, if we can accept, as of native origin, the first part of the *Popul Vuh*, as given by Brasseur de Bourbourg; which is much like the Hindoo idea of the origin of the world. Yet even in this, the most advanced mythology of the American aborigines, the effort fell short of the idea of one supreme Creator and overruling Power. But, on the other hand, tribes of the lowest culture status on the continent had myths and performed propitiatory rites to appease or engage in their interest the unknown powers which they believed controlled human destiny in some way incomprehensible to them.

Many of the American tribes, almost all except the Eskimo and northern Athapascans, according to some authors, worshipped the sun. But the Indian concept underlying this worship was not the same throughout—the great thought in American mythology referred to “light,” the

maker of day, the heaven, and hence the frequent reference to the East. While in some mythologies it would seem that the sun was the chief or ruling deity, yet usually it was one among the numerous deities recognized. Among the Haidas, it seems to have been secondary in importance to the moon.

However, Indian imagination clothed certain objects with powers which might work them good or evil. Generally, each particular power was supposed to have its individuality or personality, though it might exist in or under various forms or in various objects; in other words, these different powers were not conceived of as different manifestations of one underlying existence. Yet, among some groups, as perhaps the Iroquoian, there seems to have been a not clearly understood approach to the idea of different manifestations of a general power. According to Lieutenant Niblack, the northwest coast Indians believe "in indwelling spirits. The sea, the woods and the air are peopled with them. All the phenomena of the universe are attributed to their action." Nor does the idea greatly vary if we pass to the advanced Aztecs; personification becomes more prominent and attributes more defined, but the same general thought underlies their religious belief. It is impossible, with our present knowledge, to generalize as to religious forms, ceremonies, and observances, as these appear to vary constantly, with no determined basic principle, as we pass to different localities and from one to another ethnic group. The great carved stone idols of Mexico and Central America are replaced in other sections by doll-like images or still ruder fetiches. The temples of Central America may be the outgrowth of the Pueblo estufas; but the wild ceremonies of the northern Indians differ as widely from those of the civilized tribes as do those of two races. While the North American Indians are exceedingly superstitious and generally ruled in their actions very largely by omens, the wilder tribes, in fact most of those north of Mexico, were not true idol worshippers to any extent.

Judged by the true standard, the moral character of the Indians falls into a rather low grade. Their cruelty is proverbial, and has been from the days of the early explorers. This reproach lies upon those of all sections and all degrees of civilization. Cruel to each other in torture and ordeals, they are still more so to outsiders. The cruel torture of captives by the Iroquois, Chippewas, and other tribes of the United States has been the theme of many a narrative; and the bloody human sacrifices of the Aztecs well-nigh turn our sympathies to the Spaniards, though they were hardly less cruel. Though comparatively few, there was here and there, notably among the less cultured, a tribe not addicted to such barbarous customs.

The abodes of the natives as regards form and character were very largely influenced by the physical character of the different regions. The skin tent of the Sioux and other tribes of the western plains was of necessity replaced by the igloo in the icy region occupied by the Eskimo tribes; and the adobe or adobe and stone structures in the treeless region of the Pueblo section were the result of physical conditions, so far as materials and composition were concerned. Nevertheless, form, type, and finish were largely the result of culture. The Paiutes, whose dwellings in many places were little better than brush screens, lived amid substantially the same physical conditions as the Pueblo tribes, and, so far as any reason appears, might, if they had been more advanced in culture, have enjoyed equally as comfortable abodes as the natives of the Rio Grande valley. This, however, raises the great question of the origin and development of higher culture among the aborigines of America. Why was it that the most advanced culture in North America developed in Mexico and Central America and not in California or the rich agricultural areas of Ohio, Illinois, or the Gulf states? Bancroft (*Native Races*, ii) makes the following comment on this point:

I have often wondered why California was not the seat of a primitive civilization; why, upon every converging line the race deteriorates as this centre is approached; why, with a cool, salubrious seaboard, a hot

and healthful interior, with alternate rainy and dry seasons, alternate seasons of labor and leisure which encourage producing and hoarding, and which are the primary incentives to accumulation and wealth, in this hot and cool, moist and dry, and invigorating atmosphere, with a fertile soil, a climate which in no part of the year can be called cold or inhospitable, should be found one of the lowest phases of humanity on the North American continent. The cause must be sought in periods more remote, in the convulsions of nature now stilled; in the tumults of nations whose history lies forgotten, forever buried in the past. Theories never will solve the mystery. Indeed, there is no reason why the foundation of the Aztec and Maya-Quiche civilizations may not have been laid north of the thirty-fifth parallel, although no architectural remains have been discovered there, nor other proof of such an origin; but upon the banks of the Gila, the Colorado, and the Rio Grande, in Chihuahua, and on the hot dry plains of Arizona and New Mexico, far beyond the limits of Mr. Buckle's territory where "there never has been found, and we may confidently assert never will be found," any evidence of progress, are to-day walled towns inhabited by an industrial and agricultural people, whose existence we can trace back for more than three centuries, besides ruins of massive buildings of whose history nothing is known.

Thus, that California and many other parts of North America could not have been the seat of a primitive civilization cannot be proved upon the basis of any physical hypothesis; and indeed, in our attempt to elucidate the principles of universal progress, where the mysterious and antagonistic activities of humanity have been fermenting all unseen for thousands of ages, unknown and unknowable, among peoples of whom our utmost knowledge can be only such as is derived from a transient glimpse of a disappearing race, it is with the utmost difficulty that satisfactory conclusions can in any instance be reached.

Ratzel, in his *History of Mankind*, answers, to some extent, these cogitations of the California author as follows:

The question is apt to be easily settled by laying the whole responsibility for lights and deficiencies upon natural circumstances. The question why countries favored in situation, and delicious in climate, like California and Chili, which are now among the most fertile and flourishing, did not become the seat of civilizations of their own, must we answer by another: Was the old American civilization always limited to narrow strips of plateau and isolated districts? Possibly, hidden under the soil of equatorial South America discoveries still await us, of which at least some traces have come to light. We recall here the beautiful reflection of Martius: "It is no weak, modest moss, such as enwraps the wrecks of Roman and old German magnificence as with

an emblem of gentle melancholy, that has spread itself over the ruins of past ages in South America ; there perhaps, over the monuments of peoples long perished, gloomy primeval forests rise, which have long ago laid even with the ground all that human hands once wrought." The rock and cave villages of New Mexico and Arizona offer unexpected evidence for a higher culture in these table-lands. Peru, Mexico, Yucatan, are countries like Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and large portions of China and India—only fertile under the condition of sedulous irrigation. Much labor and trouble, not always very richly repaid, had to be expended for a livelihood. The fertilising element was richly prized, even worshipped. In Mexico, if rain kept them waiting too long, the priests fasted for some days and went up into a mountain consecrated to that purpose. Here burnt sacrifices were offered and the ashes scattered in the air in order to bring clouds and rain. Besides this, aqueducts for artificial watering were zealously constructed. In the Peruvian highlands innumerable *acequias*, often carried on pillars, and thus crossing streams, nay, even hewn in the rock, take us back to the time of the Incas. Artificial reservoirs display dams with masonry 80 feet thick at the base. The prince himself started works of this kind, and nothing else but some such system can explain the dense population of districts which are now almost uninhabited. An artificial watercourse which passes through the territory of Chontisana is estimated to be 375 miles in length. The delivery of water was correspondingly regulated. In Mexico irrigation was not so highly developed ; but in place of it the "floating gardens" in the lakes round Tenochtitlan show the industry that was expended upon cultivation. Rafts of faggots, covered with the rich mud of the lake-bottom, bore flowers and food-plants on the never-dying soil. At the present day, at all events from Gila to Tehuantepec, wheat almost always requires irrigation ; while maize can only get on without it if it is planted so early in the rainy season that it can get a chance of sufficient moisture to grow in.

Although no entirely satisfactory explanation on this subject has yet been offered, the most reasonable one which can be adduced with our present knowledge is that the development of the higher culture in Mexico and Central America was due, in a large degree, to the discovery and cultivation of maize, and reliance upon agriculture as the chief means of obtaining a food supply. Agriculture, it is claimed, results in bringing the population into a sedentary condition, which is conducive to mental development and advance in culture. That this advanced culture in North America was limited by geographical bounds and not by

ethnic lines is now well known, since it included several distinct stocks, and parts only of two other stocks. This fact, as is readily seen, favors the theory here advanced, but increases the difficulty of accounting for the origin of the civilization of Peru.

E. J. Payne (*History of America*), discussing this subject, comes to the following conclusion :

The two bases, then, of advancement in America were the domestication of the auchenias [llama, vicuña, paco], limited to the Andes, and maize-agriculture, which was not only common to the three areas of aboriginal conquest, but was extensively pursued far outside their limits, both in the Southern and Northern continents. We have seen that the herdsmen of the Andes, through the domestication of indigenous animals, became the founders of the great dominion of Peru : we now find that cultivators of an indigenous corn founded the advanced communities of Mexico and Central America. For the recent researches of naturalists have proved that maize is indigenous to the Pacific district intervening between the head of the California Gulf and the isthmus of Panama, the very district in which its cultivation was most extensively practised, and where local traditions indicated it as the primitive food of man. Of the two wild American grasses which have been identified with maize, the *Euchlaena Mexicana*, and the *Euchlaena luxurians* or *teosinte* of Guatemala, the latter approximates most nearly to the cultivated corn : and it is consistent with this fact that the Central American maize, at the time of the Discovery, was reputed to be larger and more productive than the Mexican, and that Central America, and not Mexico, appears in tradition as the earliest seat of maize cultivation. The Maya tribes unanimously ascribed the general use of maize to their culture-hero Gucumatx, who after a long journey, the object of which was the discovery of some alimentary plant more substantial than the fruits and roots on which they formerly subsisted, reached the district of Paxil-Cayala, where the people were found harvesting ripe maize. The Mexicans, who adopted this tradition, called the place Tonacatepetl (mountain of subsistence). According to another Maya tradition, after man had been created of earth, it was by means of maize that he was converted into a being of flesh and blood : and maize was the food of Nata, the Noah of Mexico, in the hollowed cypress in which he weathered the deluge.

Although the subject is too broad to be discussed here, it may be added that the cultivation of maize had spread northward by the date of the discovery, as has been noted

in the preceding chapters, almost to the climatic limits of the species, except on the western side of the continent. As it extended, it carried with it a tendency to a more firmly established life, hence a tendency to build more substantial abodes, and to practise certain arts not common to the hunter state. One of the industries which followed and was practised over an area of equal extent was the manufacture of pottery.

That the Indian has been an important factor in American history will be conceded, but the extent to which he has aided the Europeans in settling the continent, notwithstanding his seemingly obstructive methods, does not appear to have been fully appreciated. Payne (*History of America*) has remarked truly; "Upon closer examination it becomes plain that American history cannot be treated as a simple expansion of European enterprise on the virgin soil of the transatlantic continent. Exclusively European causes, although they supplied the principal motive force to the sequence of events, do not suffice to account for the direction assumed by general lines of American history when it is attempted to trace it from the Discovery as a starting point. Much less do they explain the different rates and degrees of progress, and the singular contrasts of transience and permanence, of weakness and strength, which European enterprise has exhibited in different parts of America, and which have produced the varied aspect which the states of the New World now present." These he asserts "prove to be connected with causes anterior to the Discovery and originating in the New World itself."

That the Indians accelerated discovery and aided the spread of European population over the continent becomes apparent from a few negative considerations. Let us suppose the continent to have been uninhabited, wholly without human occupants, at the time of the first arrival of the whites. What would have been the progress of discovery and settlement? How long would the Spaniards have been in discovering the Pacific Ocean, and when would they have

learned of the gold of Peru? With no Tenochtitlan, no Aztec empire to conquer, how long would Spain have been planting colonies and discovering mines in Mexico and Central America? These and a hundred other questions of similar import will frame themselves in our minds at the mere suggestion of this condition, and upon reflection satisfy us that the Indians formed a very important factor in forwarding the exploration of the various sections, and in the progress of European settlement, notwithstanding their warring upon the colonists. It is perhaps impossible for us to surmise with even an approach to correctness the condition, population, and political geography of America at this day, had it been wholly uninhabited at the time it was discovered by Europeans. Nevertheless, it is possible to point out what we may speak of correctly as the preparations by the Indians for the coming of the civilized adventurers from the Old World, and of the conscious and unconscious aid they furnished these adventurers in the progress of their discoveries and their settlements.

One of the most important steps in the preparation for the coming of Europeans was the discovery and cultivation of maize. Without this cereal it is doubtful whether the tribes of southern Mexico and Central America would have made the advance toward civilization they were found to have reached at the appearance of the Spaniards on the scene; and it is certain that without it as a source of food supply more than one of the European colonies would have been forced to abandon for a time their settlements. It would perhaps be difficult to form even an approximately correct opinion of what would be the condition of North America to-day had maize been unknown. Its bearing on American history must therefore be taken into consideration whenever history is fully treated. Its discovery and cultivation by the Indians must be considered one very important step in the preparation for the coming of the whites.

The Indians also aided in the process of settlement by bringing other economic plants into use, by bringing to light

the precious metals found on the continent, and by the discovery of many of the mine localities. To the eager search for gold are to be ascribed the rapid progress of discovery and the spread of Spanish population in the New World; and to this the natives largely contributed, even by their often false statements, as they sent the eager adventurers on new quests and thus brought them to a knowledge of new regions. They ascertained the best fishing grounds, and in many other respects prepared the way for occupancy by the civilized race. The Indians also aided in this respect, often to their sorrow, by pointing out to the explorers the lines of travel to other nations of whom they had given the Europeans notice. By them the French were guided up the chain of Great Lakes to the tribes and the fur region of the Northwest. The Ottawa route pointed out to Champlain became for many years the line of trade of the French colony with the interior. In fact, it was by way of the upper lakes that the Mississippi became known practically. Indian trails and lines of travel on land and water became, in many instances, the lines of white migration and trade. It was by information obtained from the Indians that the attention of the Spaniards was directed to the rich treasure house of Peru.

But the part played by the Indians in American history reaches beyond what is stated above and even affected the history of Europe. The Indians had much to do in deciding the contest between England and France for supremacy in North America. Historians have claimed, and justly too, that the Iroquois determined the present boundary between the United States and Canada. In other words, they kept the French to the north of the lakes in their contests with the English; and this line, when the United States achieved their independence, became the boundary between them and the Canadian government. The wealth acquired by Spain in the New World, which swelled her coffers and raised her to the highest point of importance attained by her among the nations of Europe, was obtained

through the Indians, Pizarro and Cortés would, perhaps, never have figured prominently in history had Peru and Mexico been uninhabited at the time of the discovery.

Nor does the account stop with this summary. The history of both North and South America since Europeans began to settle their coasts has to a very large extent been colored by the history of the aboriginal element. On this point, if we limit our examination to the United States, we shall find that our official records are thickly sprinkled from the beginning to the present with references to the Indians. A bulky volume will hardly suffice to contain only the treaties which the government has concluded with the tribes. One important bureau is devoted entirely to Indian affairs, and an annual volume is required to report its work; and what is true in the United States in this respect is largely true of the other governments of the continent. It is therefore only when we take these facts into consideration that we can properly appreciate the influence of the Indians in the settlement of America and of the part they have played therein.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF LINGUISTIC FAMILIES AND TRIBAL LANGUAGES OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Where the name of the country is not given in this list Mexico is to be understood.

ATHAPASCAN

APACHE.—In northern Mexico, chiefly in Chihuahua, Sonora, and Durango.

TOBOSO.—In northern Mexico, chiefly in Coahuila, Durango, and Chihuahua. (Extinct.)

CARIBBEAN (MODERN)

MORENO.—(The only dialect determined.) Along the northern coast of Honduras.

CHIAPANECAN

CHIAPANEC.—In Chiapas.

DIRIAN.—In Nicaragua, south side of Lake Managua.

MANGUE.—In Nicaragua, west and north of Lake Managua.

OROTINAN.—In Costa Rica, on Gulf of Nicoya.

CHIBCHAN

GUATUSO.—In northern Costa Rica, about the Rio Frio.

GUAYMIE.—In Panama, from Chiriqui Lagoon to Chagres River.

Dialects: GUAYMIE.

MUOI.

MURIRE.

NORTENO.

SABANERO.

VALIENTE.

GUETARE.—Extending north and south through central Costa Rica.

Dialects: QUEPO.
SUERRE?
VOTO [or BOTO].

The following are usually grouped under the generic or subfamily name Talamanca:

BORUCA [or BRUNCA].—In southeastern Costa Rica.

BRIBRI.—In southeastern Costa Rica.

Dialects: CABECAR.
CHIRRIPO [or TARIACA?].
ESTRELLA.
TUCURRIC.

COTO?—On the headwaters of the Rio Grande Terraba, Costa Rica. (Extinct.)

TERRABA.—In southeastern Costa Rica.

Dialect: TIRIBI.

CHINANTECAN

CHINANTECO.—In Chinantla, northeastern Oaxaca.

CUNAN

CUNA.—From Gulf of Uraba and the Rio Atrato on the east to the Rio Chagres on the west, Panama.

DORASKEAN

CHALIVA?—On the upper Changuinula River, Panama.

CHANGUINA.—Near Bugaba, Panama.

CHUMULU.—Near Caldera, Panama.

DORASQUE.—On the Rio Puan, Panama.

GUALACA.—Near San Francisco de Dolega, Panama.

RAMA.—About Blewfield Lagoon, southeastern Nicaragua.

TELUSKIE?—Near the Rio Puan, Panama.

HUAVEAN

HUAVE.—On Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Pacific coast.

LENCAN

LENCA.—In Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, and Nicaragua.

Dialects: CHALINGA?—In eastern San Salvador.
 GUAJIQUERO.—In central Honduras.
 INTIBUCAT.—In central Honduras.
 OPATORO.—In central Honduras.
 PUPULUCA (*b*).—On the Rio de la Paz, southeastern Guatemala.
 SIMILTON.—In central Honduras.

MARATINAN

MARATIN.—In Tamaulipas, Mexico.

MATAGALPAN

MATAGALPA.—Chiefly in Matagalpa and Segovia, Nicaragua.

Dialect: CACAOPERA.—At Cacaopera and Lislique, in northeastern San Salvador.

MAYAN

ACHIS?—Formerly in western Guatemala. (Extinct.)
 AGUACATECA.—In Aguacateca, central Guatemala.
 CAKCHIKEL.—In southern Guatemala.

Dialect: PUPULUCA (*a*).—Near Antigua, Guatemala.

CHANAÑABAL.—In eastern Chiapas.
 CHICOMUCELTECA.—In southern Chiapas.
 CHOL.—In eastern Chiapas and northern Guatemala.
 CHONTAL (of Tabasco).—In eastern Tabasco.
 CHORTI.—In the valley of the Rio Motagua, eastern Guatemala and western Honduras.
 CHUHE.—Near Jacaltenango, western Guatemala.
 HUASTECA.—On the Rio Panuco, northern Vera Cruz, Mexico.
 IXIL.—In central Guatemala.
 JACALTECA.—Adjoining the Chuhe, western Guatemala.
 KEKCHI.—On the Rio Cahabon, Guatemala.
 KICHE.—In southern Guatemala.

MAM.—In western Guatemala.

MAYA.—In Yucatan, Campeche, and northern Guatemala.

Dialects: ITZA (of Peten).—Northern Guatemala.

LACANDON.—On the upper Usumacinta River.

MOPAN.—Northern Guatemala and central Belize.

MOTOZINTLECA.—In eastern Chiapas.

POKOMAM.—In southern Guatemala.

POKONCHI.—In central Guatemala.

SUBINHA?—Locality not given, probably eastern Chiapas.

TZENTAL.—In Tabasco and Chiapas.

TZOTZIL.—In northern Chiapas.

TZUTUHIL.—Southern shore of Lake Atitlan, Guatemala.

USPANTECA.—Adjoining the Pokonchi on the west.

NAHUATLAN

ACAXEE.—In Sierra de Topia, Sinaloa, and Durango.

AZTEC.—Chiefly in the valley of Mexico, but extending from Tabasco on the east coast to Sinaloa on the west coast.

Dialects: CUITLATECO.—In Guerrero.

MEZTITLATECA.—In the Sierra of Mextitlan, state of Mexico.

TEZCUCAN.—In the valley of Mexico.

CAHITA.—In Sinaloa.

Dialects: MAYO.—On the Rio Mayo, Sinaloa.

TEHUECO.—On the Rio del Fuerte, Sinaloa.

VACOREGUA.—On the Rio del Fuerte, Sinaloa.

YAQUI.—On the Rio Yaqui, Sinaloa.

CONCHO.—In northern Chihuahua. (Extinct.)

CORA.—In Sierra Nayarit, Jalisco.

Dialects: HUICHOLO.—In northeastern Jalisco.

TEPECANO.—In northeastern Jalisco.

NIO.—On the southern border of the Cahita area. (Extinct.)

NIQUIRAN.—Between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific, Nicaragua.

OPATA.—On the headwaters of Yaqui River, Sonora and Chihuahua.

Dialects: EUDEVE.—In Sonora.

JOVA.—In western Chihuahua.

PIMA.—In Sonora, Chihuahua, and Sinaloa.

Dialects: BAMOA.—In Sinaloa.

POTLAPIGUA.—Along the northeastern border of the Opata area.

PIPIL.—Chiefly on the Pacific coast in Guatemala and San Salvador.

Dialects: ALAGUILAC?—On the Rio Motagua, Guatemala. (Extinct.)

TLASCALTECA.—In San Salvador.

SABAIBO.—Adjoining and related to the Acaxee.

SIGUA.—On Chiriqui Lagoon, Costa Rica. (Extinct.)

TARAHUMARI.—In Sonora, Chihuahua, and Durango.

Dialects: GUAZAPARE.—In the southeastern part of the Tarahumari territory.

PACHERA.—In the central part of the Tarahumari territory.

TUBAR.—Near the Guazapare.

VAROGIO.—Near the Guazapare.

TEBACA.—Adjoining and related to the Acaxee.

TEPAHUE.—In Sonora. (Extinct.)

Dialects: CAHUIMETO.—(Extinct.)

MACOYAHUY.—(Extinct.)

TEPEHUAN.—In Durango.

TLASCALAN.—In Tlascala. (Dialect of the Aztec.)

XIXIME.—Adjoining and related to the Acaxee.

ZOE.—In Sinaloa. (Extinct.)

Dialect: BAIMAMA.—Adjoining the Zoe. (Extinct.)

OTOMIAN

JONAZ [or MECO].—In Guanajuato. (Probably extinct.)

MATLALTZINCO [or PIRINDA].—In the states of Mexico and Michoacan.

MAZAHUA.—About the southwestern border of the valley of Mexico.

OTOMI.—Throughout central Mexico.

PAME.—In Queretaro and Guanajuato.

PAKAWAN

COMECRUDO.—On the lower Rio Grande.

COTONAME.—On the lower Rio Grande.

PAKAWA [or PINTO].—On the lower Rio Grande.

PAYAN

PAYA.—In northeastern Honduras.

SERIAN

GUAYMA.—On the north bank of the lower Rio Guaymas, Sonora. (Extinct.)

SERI.—On Tiburon Island and the opposite mainland, Sonora.

TEPOKA.—On the mainland opposite Tiburon Island. (Extinct.)

UPANGUAYMA.—Adjoining the Guayma. (Extinct.)

SUBTIABAN

SUBTIABA [or NEGRANDAN].—In the region of the present city of Leon, Nicaragua.

TANOAN

PIRO.—On the Rio Grande, near El Paso.

TEHUA.—On the Rio Grande, near El Paso.

TARASCAN

TARASCO.—In the state of Michoacan.

TEQUISTLATECAN

TEQUISTLATECA [or CHONTAL OF OAXACA].—In Oaxaca, on the Pacific coast.

TOTONACAN

TOTONACA.—In northern Vera Cruz and northeastern Puebla.

ULVAN

(In eastern Nicaragua. The subdivisions of this family are not satisfactorily given; they are therefore omitted.)

XICACQUEAN

XICACQUE [or JICACQUE].—In northern Honduras.

Dialects: XICACQUE (of Yoro).—In the Yoro district.

XICACQUE (of Palmar).—In the northern part of the Santa Barbara district.

XINCAN

XINCA.—On the Rio de los Esclavos, southeastern Guatemala.

Dialects: JUPILTEPEC, JUTIAPA, and SINACANTAN.—Spoken at pueblos of the same names respectively.

YUMAN? (PROVISIONAL)

COCHIMI.—In Lower California.

COCOPA [or COCAPA].—At the mouth of the Rio Colorado, Sonora, and Lower California.

GUIACURA.—In Lower California.

PERICU.—In Lower California. (Extinct.)

ZAPOTECAN

AMISHGO.—In Guerrero.

CHATINO.—In the district of Jamiltepec, Oaxaca.

CHOCHO [or CHUCHON].—In the district of Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca.

CUICATECO.—In the district of Cuicatlan, Oaxaca.

MAZATECO.—In the district of Cuicatlan, Oaxaca.

MIXTEC.—In Oaxaca and Guerrero.

POPOLOCA (of Oaxaca).—The same as Chocho.

SALTECO.—In Oaxaca.

TRIKE.—In Tehuantepec.

ZAPATECO.—In Oaxaca.

ZOQUEAN

MIXE.—In Oaxaca and Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

POPOLOCA (of Puebla).—At and in the vicinity of Oluta.

TAPIJULAPAN?—On the Rio de la Sierra.

ZOQUE.—In Tabasco, Oaxaca, and Chiapas.

Dialect: CHIMALAPA.

UNCLASSIFIED

CAZCAN.—In Zacatecas and Jalisco. (Extinct.)

GUACHICHIL.—In Nuevo Leon, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas; was possibly Nahuatlan. (Extinct.)

GUATIJAGUA.—At Guatijiagua, eastern San Salvador; probably a dialect of the Lenca or Xinca.

IRRITILA.—Chiefly in Durango; was possibly Nahuatlan. (Extinct.)

MUSQUITO.—Along the gulf coast of Nicaragua.

TAMAULIPECO.—Apparently a collective term including various idioms, some unrelated. In Tamaulipas. (Extinct.)

XANAMBRE and PISONE.—In Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon. (Extinct.)

ZACATECO.—In Zacatecas; was probably Nahuatlan. (Extinct.)

APPENDIX II

LIST OF INDIAN STOCKS NORTH OF MEXICO

THE following list of Indian stocks or families north of Mexico is made in conformity with the latest conclusions of the Bureau of American Ethnology:

1. ALGONQUIAN.—Northeastern third of the continent, from Tennessee to Montana, and to Labrador.
2. ATHAPASCAN.—Northwestern part of the continent, and from the Utah-Colorado line southward into Mexico.
3. ATTACAPAN.—Southern Louisiana.
4. BEOTHUKAN.—Northern Newfoundland; formerly all Newfoundland. (Extinct.)
5. CADDOAN.—Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and North Dakota.
6. CHIMAKUAN.—Northwestern Washington.
7. CHIMARIKAN.—Northern California.
8. CHIMMESYAN.—British Columbia, near Dixon Entrance, and the neighboring Annette Island, in Alaska.
9. CHINOOKAN.—Lower portion of Columbia River.
10. CHITIMACHAN.—Southern Louisiana.
11. CHUMASHAN.—Southern California coast.
12. COPEHAN.—Northern California.
13. COSTANOAN.—California, south of the Golden Gate.

14. **ESKIMAUAN.**—From Prince William Sound, Alaska, all along the northern coasts, islands, and inlets to Hudson's Bay, Greenland, and northern Newfoundland.
15. **ESSELENIAN.**—Southern coast of California.
16. **IROQUOIAN.**—Around Lakes Erie and Ontario, and down the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec; along the Susquehanna and its branches as far as the mouth, and also a belt through northern Georgia, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and southern Virginia.
17. **KALAPOOIAN.**—Western Oregon.
18. **KARANKAWAN.**—Southern Texas. (Extinct.)
19. **KERESAN.**—Northern New Mexico.
20. **KIOWAN.**—Indian Territory, formerly in the Platte valley.
21. **KITUNAHAN.**—British Columbia and Oregon.
22. **KOLUSHAN.**—Dixon Entrance to Prince William Sound, Alaska.
23. **KULANAPAN.**—Northwestern California.
24. **KUSAN.**—Western Oregon.
25. **LUTUAMIAN.**—Southern Oregon and northern California.
26. **MARIPOSAN.**—Southern California.
27. **MOQUELUMNAN.**—Central California.
28. **MUSKHOGEAN.**—Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, northern Florida, and western Tennessee.
29. **NATCHESAN.**—Northern Louisiana and western Mississippi.
30. **PALAIHNIHAN.**—Northeastern California.
31. **PIMAN.**—The Sonoran region of Mexico, and southern Arizona. Classed as Nahuatlan.
32. **PUJUNAN.**—Northeastern California.
33. **QUORATEAN.**—Northern California.
34. **SALINAN.**—Southern California coast.
35. **SALISHAN.**—Northwestern Oregon, northern Washington, northern Idaho, western Montana, and southwestern British Columbia.

36. SASTEAN.—Northern California.
37. SHAHAPTIAN.—Southeastern Washington, northeastern Oregon, and western Idaho.
38. SHOSHONEAN.—Southern Texas to northern Montana and north of Colorado River, west to Sierra Nevada. In southern California through to the Pacific. Classed now as Nahuatlan.
39. SIOUAN.—Continuously from northern Louisiana to the province of Saskatchewan, eastward to the Mississippi, and in Wisconsin as far as Lake Michigan, westward to the eastern boundaries of Colorado and Idaho. There were also formerly a number of tribes of this stock in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.
40. SKITTAGETAN.—Queen Charlotte Island, northwestern coast.
41. TAKILMAN.—Southwestern Oregon.
42. TANOAN.—Valley of the Rio Grande del Norte, New Mexico.
43. TIMUQUANAN.—Florida.
44. TONIKAN.—Eastern Louisiana and western Mississippi.
45. TONKAWAN.—Western and southern Texas.
46. UCHEAN.—Georgia.
47. WAILATPUAN.—Northeastern Oregon.
48. WAKASHAN.—Coast of British Columbia.
49. WASHOAN.—Eastern California and western Nevada.
50. WEITSPEKAN.—Northwestern California and southwestern Oregon.
51. WISHOSKAN.—Northwestern California.
52. YAKONAN.—Coast of Oregon.
53. YANAN.—Northern California.
54. YUKIAN.—Western California.
55. YUMAN.—Arizona, southern California, and Lower California.
56. ZUÑIAN.—Western New Mexico.

APPENDIX III

*LIST OF INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES
IN 1902, AND THE NUMBER OF ACRES
CONTAINED IN EACH*

ARIZONA TERRITORY

Name of Reservation.	Area in Acres.
Colorado River	240,640
Fort Apache	681,920
Gila Bend	22,391
Gila River	357,120
Havasupai (Supai)	38,400
Hopi (Moqui)	2,472,320
Navajo	9,442,240
Papago	27,566
Salt River	46,720
San Carlos	1,834,240
Walapai (Hualapai)	730,880

CALIFORNIA

Hupa Valley	99,051
Mission (22 reserves)	180,623
Round Valley	32,282
Tule River	48,551
Yuma	45,889

COLORADO	
Name of Reservation.	Area in Acres.
Ute	483,570

IDAHO	
Cœur d'Alène	404,480
Fort Hall	447,940
Lapwai	32,020
Lemhi	64,000

INDIAN TERRITORY	
Cherokee	4,420,071
Chickasaw	4,653,146
Choctaw	6,975,460
Creek	3,079,086
Modoc	3,976
Ottawa	1,587
Peoria	6,851
Quapaw	56,245
Seminole	365,851
Seneca	26,086
Shawnee	2,543
Wyandot	535

IOWA	
Sauk and Fox	2,965

KANSAS	
Chippewa and Munsee	4,195
Iowa	11,768
Kickapoo	7,604
Potawatomi	19,059
Sauk and Fox	985

MICHIGAN	
Isabella	2,373
L'Anse	5,266
Ontonagon	678

MINNESOTA

Name of Reservation.	Area in Acres.
Bois Fort	55,211
Deer Creek	295
Fond du Lac	23,283
Grand Portage (Pigeon River)	24,191
Leech Lake	37,683
Mdewakanton	1,101
Mille Lacs	61,014
Red Lake	800,000
Vermilion Lake	1,080
White Earth	703,512
White Oak Point and Chippewa	14,389

MONTANA

Blackfeet	960,000
Crow	3,504,000
Fort Belknap	497,600
Fort Peck	1,776,000
Jocko	1,433,600
Northern Cheyenne	489,500

NEBRASKA

Niobrara	32,875
Omaha	15,097
Ponka	27,202
Sioux	32,000
Winnebago	27,495

NEVADA

Duck Valley	312,320
Moapa River	1,000
Pyramid Lake	322,000
Walker River	318,815

NEW MEXICO TERRITORY

Name of Reservation.	Area in Acres.
Jicarilla Apache	286,400
Mescalero Apache	474,240
Pueblo { Jemez	17,510
Acoma	95,792
San Juan	17,545
Picuris	17,461
San Felipe	34,767
Pecos	18,763
Cochiti	24,256
Santo Domingo	74,743
Taos	17,361
Santa Clara	17,369
Tesuque	17,471
St. Ildefonso	17,293
Pojoaque	13,520
Sia	17,515
Sandia	24,187
Isleta	110,080
Nambe	13,586
Laguna	125,225
Santa Ana	17,361
Zuñi	215,040

NEW YORK

Alleghany	30,469
Cattaraugus	21,680
Oil Spring	640
Oneida	350
Onondaga	6,100
St. Regis	14,640
Tonawanda	7,549
Tuscarora	6,249

NORTH CAROLINA

Qualla boundary and other lands	{ 50,000
	{ 15,211
	{ 33,000

NORTH DAKOTA

Name of Reservation.	Area in Acres.
Devil's Lake	98,224
Fort Berthold	884,720
Standing Rock	2,672,640
Turtle Mountain	46,080

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

Cheyenne and Arapaho	529,682
Iowa	8,685
Kansas	100,137
Kickapoo	22,529
Kiowa and Comanche	480,000
Oakland	11,273
Osage	1,470,058
Otoe	63,419
Pawnee	112,859
Ponka	26,328
Potawatomi	215,679
Sauk and Fox	87,683
Wichita	152,991

OREGON

Grande Ronde	26,111
Klamath	872,186
Siletz	47,716
Umatilla	79,820
Warm Springs	322,108

SOUTH DAKOTA

Crow Creek and Old Winnebago	112,031
Lake Traverse	309,904
Cheyenne River	2,867,840
Lower Brulé	200,694
Pine Ridge	3,155,200
Rosebud	2,265,100
Yankton	268,567

UTAH	
Name of Reservation.	Area in Acres.
Uinta Valley	2,039,040
Uncompahgre	Partly reopened

WASHINGTON	
Chehalis	471
Columbia	24,220
Colville	1,300,000
Hoh River	640
Lummi	1,884
Makah	23,040
Muckleshoot	3,367
Nisqualli	4,718
Osette	640
Port Madison	2,015
Puyallup	599
Quileute	837
Quinalt	224,000
Shoalwater	335
Skokomish	276
Snohomish or Tulalip	8,930
Spokane	153,600
Squaxon Island (Klahchemin)	1,494
Swinomish (Perry's Island)	1,710
Yakima	587,010

WISCONSIN	
Lac Courte d'Oreilles	20,096
Lac du Flambeau	33,666
La Pointe (Bad River)	83,816
Red Cliff	2,535
Menominee	231,680
Oneida	65,402
Stockbridge	11,803

WYOMING	
Wind River	1,754,960

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

DATE		PAGE
1493.	Indians of North America described by Columbus	3
1495.	Indians sent by Columbus as slaves to Spain	6
1499.	North American Indians met by Gaspar Cortereal	235
1517.	First contact of Spaniards with natives of Yucatan	23
1519.	Cortés encountered Mexican Indians . . .	31
1524.	Verrazano met with tribes of Abnakis . .	201
1525.	Hurtado attempted to establish a Spanish colony at Chiriqui Lagoon	9
1539.	Spaniards settled at Campeche	23
1540.	Coronado attacked by Indians of New Mexico	44
	Cherokees first encountered by De Soto . .	102
	De Soto found Uchees on Savannah River .	66
1540-1541.	The Quapaws found by De Soto in Arkansas	343
1542.	California Indians first noticed	385
1564-1567.	The French attempted to plant a colony in Florida	53
1585.	Indians in the vicinity of Roanoke Island met by the Raleigh expedition	70
1595-1599.	Actual occupation of Mexico by the Spaniards	46
1598.	Apaches first noticed in history	376
1604.	Attempt to plant a French colony on coast at Port Royal	231

DATE	PAGE
1606. Grant to Sir Thomas Gates and others to establish a colony in Virginia	71
1608. Manahoac Indians first met by John Smith .	82
1609. Mohegans first met by Hudson	141
Reckgawawanc, or Manhattan, chieftaincy came into conflict with Hudson . . .	135
1610. Insurrection of the Talamanca and massacre of Spanish settlers	11
1613. Marriage of Pocahontas	75
1614. Dutch settled at New Amsterdam	132
Captain John Smith visited the eastern coast Indians	202
1618. Powhatan's death	76
1620. New England occupied by Algonquian family Plymouth Colony founded	155
1622. Virginia Colony overwhelmed by Powhatan confederacy	77
1625. Conspiracy among the natives of New England against the whites	159
1626. Navajos first mentioned in history	377
1634. Leonard Calvert settled in Indian town of Yoacomaco	85
1634 [or 1639]. Jean Nicolet, first white man to visit Indians on borders of Wisconsin .	284
1637. Pequod war against Connecticut settlers . .	162
1638. Apalaches at war with Spanish colonists . .	55
Act of Assembly governing the relations of the Indians and Marylanders	87
1638-1639. Maryland colonists and the natives at conflict	87
1639. Potawatomes found located near Green Bay .	295
First historical mention of Winnebagoes . .	287
Sioux tribes located west of Lake Superior .	326
1640. Mexican Indians revolted against the Spaniards	46
1643. Death of Miantonomah, the Narragansett sachem	175

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

453

DATE	PAGE
1643. Dutch conflict with Indians	136
1644. Indians of Virginia sought to exterminate colonists	79
1645. Peace treaty at Fort Orange between Dutch and Indians	142
Narragansett and Nihantic Indians made peace with the English colonists . . .	176
1647. Maryland colonists attacked by Nanticokes and Wicomicos	88
1649. Act of Maryland Colony passed regulating transfer of Indian lands	89
1656. Richahecrian Indians settled near falls of James River	82
1655, 1657, 1658. Laws of Virginia passed regu- lating lands of Indians	80
1659, 1680. Reservations in Connecticut set apart for Wepawaugs	179
1660. Catholic missions planted in northwestern section	284
1661. Death of Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags Alexander invested with chieftainship of the Wampanoags	185
Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas entered into a treaty of peace with the French .	186
1663. Stuyvesant acted as intermediary between Dutch and Indians	223
1664. Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam super- seded by the English	140
1665. Act passed by Virginia Assembly regulating limits of Indian lands	145
1669. Mohawks sought protection from the French Sauks located about Green Bay	80
1670. Father Marquette met Illinois Indians at La Pointe	142
1671. The court of Connecticut ordered settlers to respect Indian allies	299
	265
	198

DATE	PAGE
1671. French took possession of northwest country	285
1671-1672. Crees found located on James Bay . .	353
1675-1676. King Philip's war	186
1678. Peace between Penobscots and English concluded by Governor Andros	205
1679. Du Luth visited the Chippewas' territory . .	291
Xicaques brought under Christian influence .	13
1680. Hurons found by La Salle along Detroit River	220
Yamasis revolted against Spaniards in Florida	100
1681. Penn's message to the Delawares	125
1682. Death of Uncas, the Mohegan sachem . .	182
1683-1684. Foxes and Chippewas joined the French against the Iroquois	298
1686. Yamasis made war on Spaniards	100
Penn's deed of transfer of land of the Delawares	116
1687. Revolt of the Indians of Florida against Spanish oppression	60
The French under Denonville marched against the Five Nations	225
1689. Wappinger tribe joined the English in war against the French	140
1692. The Spaniards under Don Diego Vargas Zapata attempted to conquer New Mexico	48
1693. First notice of Cherokee tribe	103
1696. Pueblo Indians rebelled against Spaniards .	48
1700. Dakotas became a prominent factor in history of the northwest	328
1702. Alibamus incorporated into Creek confederacy	310
1703. Eastern Indians and French attacked Maine and New Hampshire settlements . .	207
1707. Act of Virginia Assembly passed regulating Indian traders	96
1708. French settlement at Mobile Bay attacked by Creeks, Cherokees, and Catawbas .	311

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

455

DATE	PAGE
1711. Tuscaroras massacred North Carolina colonists	99
1712. The Tzental Indians, led by Maria Candelaria, revolted against the Spaniards . .	22
Cherokees aided Carolina colonists in war with the Tuscaroras	103
Catawbias joined the Carolina colonists against the Tuscaroras	98
1713. Tuscarora war recommenced	100
Navajos defeated by the Spaniards	377
1715. Carolina colonists attacked by Cherokees, Catawbias, and Congarees	101
North Carolina established regulations as to the purchase of Indian lands	106
1718. Agreement made at Philadelphia defining boundaries of Indian lands	116
Treaty made with the Tuscarora Indians . .	100
1722. Treaty of peace concluded at New York between Iroquois and Virginia and her tributary Indians	85
1724. Comanches first noticed in the Spanish records	74
1736. Chickasaws defeated French under D'Arteguette and Bienville	319
1738. Assiniboinis accompanied La Verendrye to the upper Missouri	334
1741. Oregon Indians first mentioned	388
1744. Iroquois confederacy decided to remain neutral between English and French . .	145
1746. Comanches attacked the Spanish settlers . .	374
Five thousand Navajos converted to Christianity	378
1749. Final peace treaty made between eastern Indians and colonists	207
1751-1753. Indians of Ohio sought aid of the English against the French	240

DATE		PAGE
1755.	Shawnees joined the French against General Braddock	270
	Winnebagoes aided French at Fort Du Quesne	288
	General Braddock defeated by French and their Indian allies on the Monongahela	241
1757.	Tedyuscung concluded treaty with Governor Morris, at Easton, Pennsylvania, settling land disputes	122
	New Jersey Legislature prescribed measures in protection of Indians	112
1760.	Pontiac's war	250
1763.	Tedyuscung treacherously murdered by Seneca Indians	124
	Dakotas entered into friendship with the English	328
	Council between Six Nations and English convened by Sir William Johnson . .	256
1764.	Treaty made between Catawbias and South Carolina apportioning lands to the tribe	99
1768.	Treaty of Fort Stanwix defined the boundary between lands of Indians and whites .	271
	Treaty with Cherokees defined southwest border of Virginia	104
1769.	Pontiac assassinated	304
	Missions planted among California Indians .	385
	Death of Ben Uncas, the last Mohegan sachem	183
1776.	Cherokees attacked the settlements in eastern Tennessee and North Carolina . . .	105
1777.	Wappinger and Mohegan tribes under Washington in the Revolutionary struggle .	140
1778.	Wyoming massacre	126
1780.	Chippewas destroyed the Foxes	292
1781.	Decree of Royal Audience of Mexico as to lands of Pueblo Indians	51
1783, 1793, 1796, 1802.	Congress reserves power of control over Indian lands . . .	402-403

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

457

DATE	PAGE
1784. McGillivray, the Creek "emperor," makes treaty with Spain	311
1786. Apaches subdued by Spaniards	376
System of Indian reservations instituted by the United States	408
1786, 1799. Acts of Maryland relating to purchase of the lands of the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians	89
1790. McGillivray concluded treaty with United States on behalf of Creeks	312
General Harmar's expedition against the Indians	275
1794. Wayne defeated Indians at Maumee	276
1795. Treaty of peace concluded at Fort Greenville	276
1795-1816. Treaties made between Chippewas and the United States, ceding lands	292
1803-1805. Navajos in hostility to the whites	378
1804. Congress provided for settlement of Indians on lands west of the Mississippi in exchange for those east of it	404
Sauks and Foxes ceded lands east of Mississippi to the United States	300
1809. Treaty made at Fort Wayne ceding Indians' lands in Indiana	297
1811. Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, took up arms against the United States	278
1812. Winnebagoes sided with the English in war against the United States	288
Dakotas supported the English in war against the United States	328
1813. Massacre by Creek Indians at Lake Tensas	314
Creek war	315
1815. Treaty of peace made by Dakotas with the United States	328
1816. Sauks made treaty of peace with the United States	300

DATE	PAGE
1817. Border warfare between Seminoles and settlers on the frontiers of Georgia	63
1821. Peninsula of Florida acquired by the United States	63
1825. Treaty made between the United States and northwest tribes, fixing boundaries . .	293
1832. Black Hawk war	299
1832, 1834. Choctaws ceded their lands east of the Mississippi	320
1833. Illinois Indians removed to west of the Mississippi	304
1835-1842. Seminole war	64
1837. Osceola entrapped by General Jessup . .	64
1839-1841. The Indians of Yucatan took part in the rebellions for state independence .	24
1848. Trouble with Oregon Indians	391
1855-1856. Rogue River war	393
1862. Sioux rebellion	329
1862-1863. Apaches in conflict with United States troops	376
1865. United States troops engaged against the Shoshones	370
1868. Mayan revolt against Mexican government .	24
1868, 1885-1886, 1901-1902. Yaquis in rebellion against Mexican government	42
1872-1873. General Crook subdues the Apaches .	376
1873. The Modoc war	371
1876. General Custer killed in the Sioux rebellion .	333
1879. War with the Utes	371
1887. Congress invested President with authority to allot lands to Indians in severalty . .	408
1889. Congress established United States Court in Indian Territory	410
1890-1891. Dakota rebellion quelled by General Miles	333

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME II

	FACING PAGE
Black Hawk (Ma-ka-tai-she-kia-kiak—Black Sparrow-hawk). <i>From the original painting from life by R. M. Sully, now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society</i>	title
Ethnological Map A, Part I. Showing linguistic families of Mexico and Central America. <i>From the original made for this work under the direction of Professor Thomas</i>	33
Ethnological Map A, Part II. Showing linguistic families of Mexico and Central America. <i>From the original made for this work under the direction of Professor Thomas</i>	48
Aztec drawing showing the Spanish conquest of the Indians. <i>From a facsimile of the so-called Lienzo de Tlascala canvas, the original of which was destroyed during the revolution after the downfall of Maximilian. This portion represents an event during the expedition of Nuño de Guzman, in 1530, when the Tlascalans aided the Spaniards in punishing another tribe, which had hung a Spaniard</i>	65
Martyrdom of an Indian. After a copperplate in Las Casas's account of the Spanish cruelties to the natives. <i>From the original in possession of the Philadelphia Library Company.</i>	97
Ethnological Map B. Showing linguistic families in Eastern section. <i>From the original made for this work under the direction of Professor Thomas</i>	112
Ethnological Map C. Showing stocks and families north of Mexico. <i>From the original made for this work under the direction of Professor Thomas</i>	129

